University of Alberta

Custodians of Ukrainian Heritage: Three Ukrainian Museums in Edmonton

by

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Canada

To my husband

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I wish to express my gratitude to the workers of the three museums for their assistance with this research and for their continuous efforts in sustaining these museums. I awe special thanks to Nadia Cyncar, Nellie Seniw, Oleksand Makar, and many others, who provided me with much valuable information and access to materials.

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Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION **1**

CHAPTER 1. THE PREMISES **9**

- SETTING 9
  - *Location and Affiliation* *9*
  - *Accessibility and Visitation* *14*
  - *Spatial Organization* *17*
- COLLECTIONS 21
  - *Goals* *21*
  - *Vision for Collecting* *26*
  - *Cataloguing* *28*
  - *Language of Cataloguing* *35*
  - *Summary of the Collections* *39*
- PERMANENT EXHIBITS 43
  - *Descriptions* *43*
  - *Use of Space* *54*
  - *Use of Collections* *56*
  - *Use of Labels and Interpretation* *59*
- TEMPORARY EXHIBITS 66
- EXTENSION: COURSES AND OTHER ACTIVITIES 77

CHAPTER 2. SHAPING THE HERITAGE **83**

- REGION BIAS 86
- TIME BIAS 95
- GENDER BIAS 111

CONCLUSIONS **129**

BIBLIOGRAPHY **133**

APPENDIX **143**

List of Tables

Table 1. Facets of "Ukrainian-ness" characteristic for the permanent exhibits of the three museums. 64
Table 2. The characteristics of the first exhibits. 70
Table 3. Lists of data fields in the catalogues of the three collections. 143
Table 4. Defining the museums. 144
Table 5. Acquisitions policies. 144
Table 6. Adherence to standard museum registration and record system. 145
Table 7. Hierarchy of roles/functions according to their importance to the museums. .. 145
Table 8. Publicity forms used by the museums. 146
Table 9. Summaries of the museums. 146

Table of Figures

Figure 1. Map of the central part of the city of Edmonton. 10
Figure 2. St. Josaphat's Cathedral: UCWL's museum is situated in the basement……….11
Figure 3. The UMC-AB floor plan. 18
Figure 4. UCWL's museum floor plan. 19
Figure 5. UCAMA ethnographic exhibit floor plan.. 20
Figure 6. UMC-AB: dynamics of museum objects accessioning. 30
Figure 7. UCWL's museum: dynamics of museum objects accessioning. 31
Figure 8. UCAMA: dynamics of museum objects accessioning. 31
Figure 9. UMC-AB collection: types of museum objects... 40
Figure 10. UCWL's museum collection: types of museum objects. 41
Figure 11. UCAMA ethnographic collection: types of museum objects........................... 41

Figure 11. UCAMA ethnographic collection: types of museum objects........................... 41

Figure 12. UMC-AB: entrance from the lobby of the St.John's Auditorium. Museum's display cabinets in the lobby……………………………………………………………………44
Figure 13. UMC-AB: gift shop………………………………………………………………45
Figure 14. UMC-AB permanent exhibit: folk clothes of Ukrainian pioneers in Canada. Bukovyna region. The clothing ensemble belonged to mother of William Hawrelak, Edmonton's Major……………………………………………………………………………46
Figure 15. UMC-AB permanent exhibit: view to south-east…………………………46
Figure 16. UMC-AB permanent exhibit: household implements……………………….47
Figure 17. UMC-AB permanent exhibit: a fragment of religious artefacts display……..48
Figure 18. UCWL's museum: guest book and gift shop…………………………………..48
Figure 19. UCWL's museum permanent exhibit: costumed dolls……………………….49
Figure 20. UCWL's museum permanent exhibit: reference library……………………..49
Figure 21. UCWL's museum permanent exhibit: "Flax Seed to Woven Cloth."………..50
Figure 22. UCWL's museum permanent exhibit: *bavnytsia* (married women's headgear) and bridal headpieces……………………………………………………………………….50
Figure 23. UCWL's museum permanent exhibit: ceramics………………………………50
Figure 24. UCAMA permanent exhibit: eastern isle……………………………………..51
Figure 25. UCAMA permanent exhibit: embroidered clothes and portraits of pioneers...52
Figure 26. UCAMA permanent exhibit: reproductions of costumes of prominent figures in Ukraine's history……………………………………………………………………….52
Figure 27. UCAMA permanent exhibit: folk attire from the Hutsul region……………..53
Figure 28. UCAMA permanent exhibit: miscellaneous items…………………………..53
Figure 29. UMC-AB: wedding wreaths…………………………………………………..57
Figure 30. Temporary exhibits held by the museums... 66
Figure 31. UMC-AB: temporary exhibits. 67
Figure 32. UCWL's museum: temporary exhibits.. 67
Figure 33. UCAMA: temporary exhibits. 67
Figure 34. Folk costumes fashion show in Vegreville organized by UMC in November 1970. Courtesy of UMC-AB……………………………………………………………….77
Figure 35. Ukrainian pavilion at the Heritage Days Festival in Hawrelak Park, Edmonton...79
Figure 36. Doll in Hutsul costume…………………………………………………………86

Figure 35. Ukrainian pavilion at the Heritage Days Festival in Hawrelak Park, Edmonton........79
Figure 36. Doll in Hutsul costume........86
Figure 37. UMC-AB: distribution of museum objects according to their country of creation........87
Figure 38. UCWL's museum: distribution of museum objects according to their country of creation........87
Figure 39. UCAMA: distribution of museum objects according to their country of creation........88
Figure 40. Distribution of artefacts according to region they represent........89
Figure 41. UMC-AB: artefact distribution according to the time of production........101
Figure 42. UCWL's museum: artefact distribution according to the time of production........102
Figure 43. UCAMA: artefact distribution according to the time of production........102
Figure 44. Costumed doll in national costume........106
Figure 45. UMC-AB: distribution of category "clothes" according to gender........114
Figure 46. UCWL's museum: distribution of category "clothes" according to gender........114
Figure 47. UCAMA: distribution of category "clothes" according to gender........115
Figure 48. UMC-AB: distribution of types of clothes according to gender........116
Figure 49. UCWL's museum: distribution of types of clothes according to gender........116
Figure 50. UCAMA: distribution of types of clothes according to gender........117
Figure 51. UMC-AB: gender distribution of artefacts........122
Figure 52. UCWL's museum: gender distribution of artefacts........123
Figure 53. UCAMA: gender distribution of artefacts........124

Introduction

Three Ukrainian museums operate in Edmonton: the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, Alberta Branch (UMC-AB), the Eparchial Museum of Ukrainian Catholic Women's League of Canada (UCWL's museum) and the Ukrainian Canadian Archives and Museum of Alberta (UCAMA). They form distinct local traditions which express a variety of aspects of the community life. Each participates in community life by acting as an authority and a source for cultural knowledge dissemination, preserving cultural heritage and promoting its continuity.

The objectives of this thesis are to describe various aspects of the museums as situated within their specific cultural and historical contexts and to reveal the polysemic character of the artefacts and the museums themselves. The way the museum objects are mobilized for production of meaning reflects the specific ethnic culture. The three museums are involved in shaping Ukrainian heritage by reconstruction of the Ukrainian culture of the past, and thus represent museological culture of their contemporary Edmonton.

The present study aims at drawing attention to the construction of meaning behind the museum collections, exhibits, and related activities. It is of special interest at this time, with regards to the prospective new stage in the development of the museums in question. The museums under study and the Ukrainian Folklore Centre at the University of Alberta have recently been negotiating about combining their efforts for the creation of a new centre under one roof. Sharing a new facility would inevitably change these museums, though plans would be to continue to preserve their individuality to some degree. By documenting and analyzing the museums this study can contribute to the fulfillment of these plans.[1]

This research is at intersection of several areas: folklore, museology and gender studies. The museums can be regarded as the subject of study in Ukrainian folklore not only because they collect Ukrainian material culture, but also because they are run by Ukrainians, and thus, the ways artefacts are collected, preserved, and displayed are governed/prescribed by cultural meanings, which are collectively created and transmitted orally within a tightly knit group. The museum workers can be seen as a folk group in their own right. The synthetic vision attempted in this study was inspired by the "thick description" approach proposed by an anthropologist Clifford Geertz.[2]

As a subject of museology, museums were traditionally studied as institutions governed by a set of standardized rules and guidelines. Recent perspectives open new horizons for organizing museum work.

A gender perspective is very useful as it interprets culture in terms of socially constructed gender-specific roles. In the case of the Ukrainian museums in Edmonton area, the institutions that founded them and the collections themselves involve distinct gendered characteristics.

Much of the information collected for this study involved the ethnographic approach as a qualitative research method, including participant observation and interviews. The researcher gained many impressions while volunteering at two of the museums, including organization of displays and exhibitions. Interviews were conducted which focused on the three local museums and the community that nurtures these museums. The ethnographic data shed light on construction of meaning of the objects in the museum context, which shapes the character of collections, the manner of their interpretation, and their presentation. The ethnographic sources were complemented by extensive study of the museums' exhibits, collections and accession records as well as various other documents and texts.

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[1] As of January 2004, the UMC-AB has left these discussions.

[2] Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," *The Interpretation of Cultures: Collection of Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973) 5-30.

Several publications dedicated to history of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada (UWAC), the parent organization of UMC-AB, and the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League of Canada (UCWLC) contain reports about museum activities. Thus, UWAC published *Twenty-five Years of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada* and *A Half-Century of Service to the Community* authored and edited by Natalia Kohuska.[3] The beginnings of the UCWLC's museum are described in *For God, Church and Country* by Irene Pavlykovska.[4] The founder of Ukrainian Canadian Archives and Museum of Alberta, Hryhoriy Yopyk, wrote an account of formation of the museum in *Ukrainsko-kanads'kyi arkhiv-muzei Al'berty: Pam'iatky ukrains'kykh pioneriv Al'berty* [Ukrainian-Canadian Archives and Museum of Alberta: Artefacts of Ukrainian pioneers of Alberta].[5] More recent articles dealing with these museums appeared in the third and fourth volumes of "*Zakhidnokanads'kyi zbirnyk* [Collected Papers on Ukrainian Settlers in Western Canada]." They are written by UCAMA's curator Oleksander Makar

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[3] Natalia Kohuska, *Twenty-FiveYears of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada 1926-1951* (Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1952), and Natalia Kohuska, ed., *A Half-Century of Service to the Community: An Outline History of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada 1926-1976* (Edmonton-Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1986).

[4] Irene Pavlykovska, ed., *Dlia Boha, tserkvy i narodu: pochatky i diial'nist'* [For God, church and country. Ukranian Catholic Women's League: Its history and activities] (Edmonton: UCWLC, Ukrainian News, 1964).

[5] Hryhoriy Yopyk, *Ukrainsko-kanads'kyi arkhiv-muzei Al'berty: Pam'iatky ukrains'kykh pioneriv Al'berty* [Ukrainian Canadian Archives and Museum of Alberta: Artifacts of Ukrainian Pioneers of Alberta] (Edmonton: UCAMA, 1982).

("*Ukrains'ko-kanads'kyi arkhiv-muzei* [The Ukrainian Canadian Archives and Museum]"), UMC-AB Board President Anastasia Seniw ("*Muzei Soiuzu Ukrainok Kanady* [Museum of Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada]") and UCWL's Museum Chairperson Vera Kunda ("*Musei LUKZh* [Museum of the UCWL]").[6] Another source of information about the activities of these museums are the newspapers *Ukrainian News* (for UCAMA and UCWL) and *Ukrainian Voice* (for UWAC until 1960, later – the magazine *Promin*).[7] With the help of these periodicals the museums communicated their concerns, plans and achievements to their communities.

Ukrainian Canadian museums have not been sufficiently explored in scholarly literature. Among the main works discussing Ukrainian museums in Canada were articles by Robert Klymasz "Celebrating the Ukrainian Experience in Canada" and "Ukrainian Museums in Canada."[8] The first article is a brief history of Ukrainian museums in Canada and the second reviews the state of Ukrainian museums in 1976. Another work dedicated to Ukrainian Canadian museums is "Expanding Limited Identities: A Cultural Role for Ukrainian Museums," a conference presentation by Steve Prestupa, in which he addresses the issue of the museums' role for formation and deconstruction of cultural stereotypes.[9]

While a certain number of scholarly publications have been dedicated to the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village,[10] only a few works dealt with specific museums among the four branches of the UMC, museums of UCWL, or UCAMA. Natalia Shostak's conference presentation was the comparison of the Saskatoon branch of the Ukrainian Museum of Canada with the Ukrainian museum in New York.[11] An unpublished Master of Museum Studies thesis by Enrico Cumbo is an overview of exhibiting practices of Ukrainian museums in Canada.[12] In his paper, Cumbo adopted a didactic approach, by comparing the features characteristic for these museums against what they should do to achieve their educational potential in representation of dynamism of Ukrainian culture. My thesis strives to present a different approach in that I try to take into consideration the interrelation between the purpose of the museums and their practices.

---

[6] *Zakhidniokanads'kyi zbirnyk*, part 3, comp. Yar Slavutych (Edmonton: Kanads'ke naukove tovarystvo imeni T. Shevchenka. 1998).
[7] *Ukrainian News, Ukrainian Voice* and *Promin*.
[8] Robert B. Klymasz, "Celebrating the Ukrainian Experience in Canada: A Brief Museological History" (N.p.: n.p., June 1992), and Robert B. Klymasz, "Ukrainian Museums in Canada," *Gazette* 9.1 (1976).
[9] Steve Prestupa, "Expanding Limited Identities: A Cultural Role for Ukrainian Museums," Conference paper manuscript (N.p. N.d.).
[10] Radomir B. Bilash, "Collecting Material Culture: Alberta's Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village," *Visible Symbols: Cultural Expression Among Canada's Ukrainians*, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Edmonton: Canadian

In order to understand a sociocultural environment and processes leading to Ukrainians becoming a highly visible and vocal minority in Canada's cultural scene, it is imperative to familiarize oneself with such works as *Ukrainian Canadians: a Survey of their Portrayal in English-language Works* by Frances Swyripa, as well as *Continuity and Change* and *Visible Symbols* edited by Manoly Lupul.[13]

Folklore, Cultural Performers, and Popular Entertainments edited by Richard Bauman provides an insight into the nature of a wide set of communicative phenomena,

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Institute of Ukrainian Studies, U of Alberta, 1984) 18-20; Sandra Thomson, "The Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village: Interpreting Ukrianian Canadian History," *Visible Symbols: Cultural Expression Among Canada's Ukrainians*, ed. Manoly Lupul (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, U of Alberta, 1984) 239-43.

[11] Natalia Shostak, conference presentation, *Cross-stitching cultural borders: Comparing the Ukrainian experience in Canada and the United States*, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, Harney Professorship in Ethnic, Immigration, and Pluralism Studies, University of Toronto, Toronto, 30 October 1998.

[12] Enrico T. Cumbo, "The Presentation of Ukrainian Canadian Culture and History in Ukrainian Ethnic Museums," Master of Museum Studies Thesis, Toronto Institute for the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology, 1983.

[13] Frances Swyripa, *Ukrainian Canadians: a Survey of their Portrayal in English-language Works* (Edmonton: U of Alberta P, 1978); Manoly R. Lupul, ed., *Visible Symbols: Cultural Expression Among Canada's Ukrainians* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, U of Alberta, 1984), and Manoly Lupul, ed. *Visible Symbols: Cultural Expression Among Canada's Ukrainians* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, U of Alberta, 1984).

including "artefact."[14] Carole Carpenter's *Many Voices: A Study of Folklore Activities in Canada and Their Role in Canadian Culture* analyzes folklore scholarship and amateur folklore activities, discussing their motives and forms.[15]

Dealing specifically with the issue of Ukrainian women's activism toward the preservation of ethnic identity in Canada is *Wedded to the Cause* by Frances Swyripa.[16] The book gives extensive references to other works on the topic and contains valuable insights into the history and motivations that drove women's activities.

Sources related to museology deal with museums as agents of preserving and transmitting cultural meaning encapsulated in artefacts.[17] The postmodernist perspective allows insights into the multiple ways in which the meaning is constructed and reformulated as preconditions of visual display. The publication *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* establishes connections between museums and issues of identity, advantages and limitations of presentation of knowledge through artefacts, the problem of authenticity.[18] A doctoral dissertation by Peter van Mensch "Towards a Methodology of Museology" (University of Zagreb, 1992) outlines theoretical concepts in the museological field.[19] *Introduction to Museum Work* by Ellis Burcaw is a first attempt to create a textbook in museology oriented at those who have no prior training in museum work.[20] The book is a set of lectures in theory, definitions and philosophical issues followed by practical exercises.

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[14] Richard Bauman, ed., *Folklore, Cultural Performances, and Popular Entertainments* (New York: Oxford UP, 1992).

[15] Carole H. Carpenter, *Many Voices: A Study of Folklore Activities in Canada and Their Role in Canadian Culture* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1979).

[16] Frances Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1993).

[17] John R. Dunn, "Museum Interpretation/Definition: The Need for Definition," *Gazette* 10.1 (1977): 12-6; Daniel T. Gallacher, "That's the Limit: A New Approach for Collections' Management in British Columbia," Gazette 10.4 (1977): 38-44; Peter van Mensch, *Towards a Methodology of museology*, diss., University of Zagreb, 1992, 16 June 2003 <http://www.xs4all.nl/~rwa/boek01.htm to http://www.xs4all.nl/~rwa/boek24.htm>; Susan Pearce, rev. of *Archaeologists and Aesthetes*, by Ian Jenkins, *Museums and the Appropriation of Culture*, ed. Susan Pearce (London, NJ: The Athlone Press, 1994) 244-6; and others.

[18] Ivan Karp, and Steven Lavine, *Exhibiting Cultures* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

[19] Mensch, *Towards a Methodology of museology*.

Workers in the museums under study utilize publications related to their field produced in Canada and in Ukraine. Canadian sources fall into two main groups: history of Ukrainians in Canada, including the museums' own publications,[21] and museological literature specifying the guidelines of organizing museum work.[22] Ukrainian publications used in the museums include sources pertaining to the field of ethnography and ethnomuseology. Ukrainian ethnomuseology (*etnomuzeieznavstvo*) is defined as "a branch of ethnography that studies ethnographic aspects of national/folk culture with regards to its preservation and exhibition by means of museums."[23] The goals of ethnomuseology are the collection and systematization of ethnographic material and collections, their classification, compiling, methods of cataloguing, principles of museum exhibition and publication of catalogues.[24]

Ukrainian Museums in Edmonton and Area

There are six Ukrainian museums in Edmonton and area. The most widely known is the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village (UCHV), located sixty kilometres east of Edmonton on Highway 16. UCHV was purchased by the Government of Alberta in 1976 and since then has played an important role in raising the awareness of Albertans, other

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[20] Ellis G. Burcaw, Introduction to Museum Work (Nashville: The American Association for State and Local History, 1975).

[21] Kohuska, *Twenty-Five Years*; Kohuska, *Half-Century*; Pavlykovska, *For God*; Yopyk, *UCAMA* and others.

[22] Burcaw *Introduction to Museum Work*; guidlenes of Alberta Museum Association.

[23] Anatoliy Ponomariov, *Ukrains'ka etnohrafiia* [Ukrainian Ethnography] (Kyiv: Lybid', 1994) 50. [Translations by V.H.]

[24] Ponomariov 50.

Canadians and international visitors about the culture and every-day life of pioneer settlers in the 1890s – 1930s in east-central Alberta.

The Basilian Fathers' Museum in Mundare is another large Ukrainian museum some twenty kilometres east of UCHV on Highway 16. The museum was opened in its new building in 1991 and specializes in depicting the history of the Ukrainian settlement and the evolution of the Basilian Fathers' Mission in Canada. Both the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village and Basilian Fathers' Museum are a part of "Kalyna Country," a large ecomuseum that promotes appreciation for the heritage of East Central Alberta.[25]

A small ethnographic collection is housed in the Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives which comes under umbrella of the Ukrainian Folklore Centre at the University of Alberta. The Medwidsky Archives is not a museum per se, but collects items in various media to promote the study of Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian culture.

Numerous significant private and government-operated collections in Edmonton and area add to the museological resources for Ukrainian culture.[26] Furthermore, museums such as the Provincial museum of Alberta have collections of Ukrainian artefacts in storage, assembled within their broader collection mandate.[27]

The three museums under study are located in Edmonton's centre and were the first to be opened. Their histories, collections, exhibits and activities provide rich material for the stated goals of this thesis.

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[25] *Kalyna Country* (Vegreville, AB: Marketer, 2003).

[26] Clothing and Textiles collection at the University of Alberta is an example of such an institution.

[27] Museum Services, Alberta Museums and Related Institutions Data-Base (Edmonton: Alberta Culture, Historic Division, 1986).

Chapter 1. The Premises

Setting

> The temples of postmodern times, museums blossom as churches once did in the cities and the countryside of the 19th century. Provinces, states, regions, cities and even the smallest towns want a museum to call their own in hopes that it will help enhance their historical memory, negotiate new alliances, affirm their identity, in short, secure their existence in the world. Just as in another era a village or an urban neighbourhood without a church remained marginal to a community of believers, today a population without a museum is deprived of the cultural belonging created by a public place. This means that existing beyond the reaches of tourist inspired cultural awareness is to exist without recognition.
>
> Turgeon and Dubuc, "Ethnology Museums"[28]

Location and Affiliation

Located in the centre of the city of Edmonton, the three museums are visual markers of a cultural space once intensively inhabited by Ukrainian Edmontonians. Until a few decades ago, these neighbourhoods[29] boasted numerous Ukrainian establishments of various kinds, though the place has now changed significantly, as its ethnic composition has shifted. Most families that were clustered in the neighbourhood in the first half of the twentieth century moved to other locations, and many organizations followed them. The buildings they occupied endure but little betrays what they were before, their former life remains unexposed. The main exceptions are churches, with their unmistakably recognizable Byzantine architecture. The museums and their environment constitute an entity that possesses an identity of its own.

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[28] Laurier Turgeon and Elise Dubuc, "Ethnology Museums: New Challenges and New Directions," Introduction, *Ethnologies* 24.2 (2002): 4.

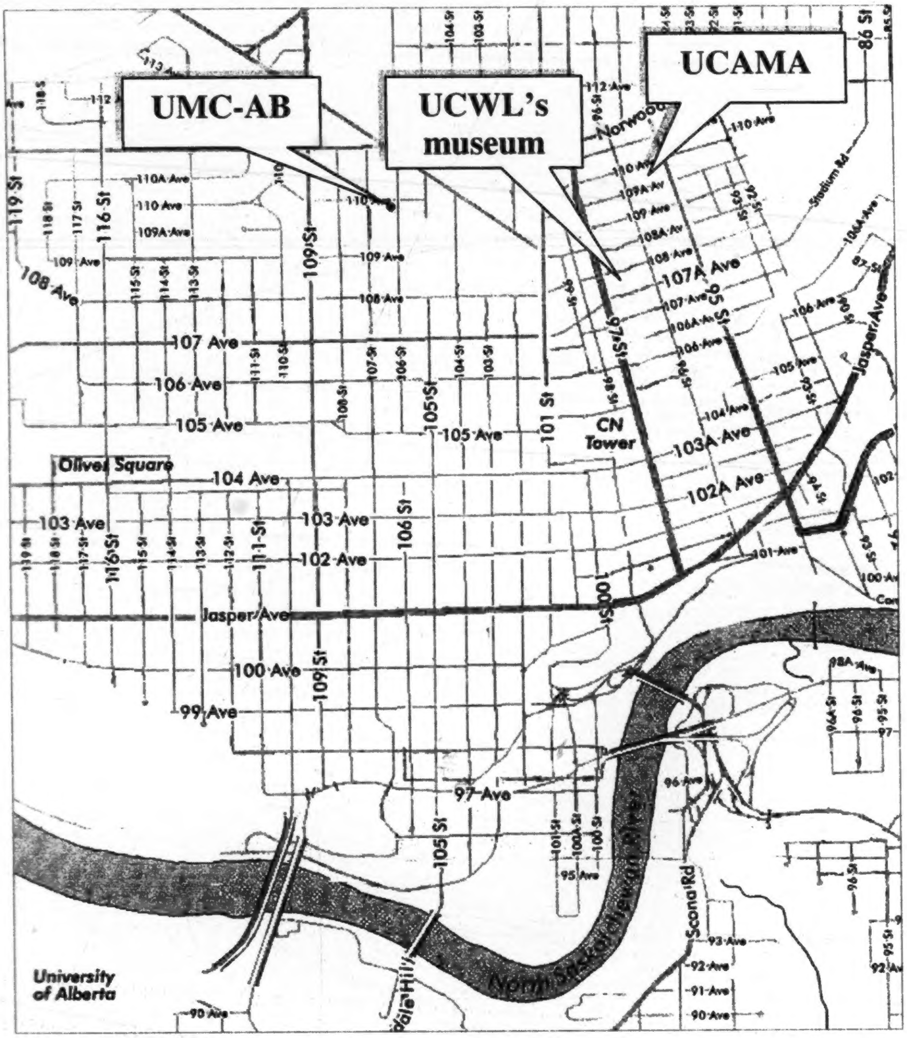
UMC-AB
UCWL's museum
UCAMA
Norwood
107 Ave
106 Ave
105 Ave
104 Ave
103 Ave
102 Ave
Jasper Ave
100 Ave
99 Ave
97 Ave
107A Ave
103A Ave
102A Ave
101 Ave
119 St
116 St
109 St
106 St
105 St
101 St
100 St
97 St
95 St
86 St
Oliver Square
CN Tower
Stadium Rd
Scona Rd
North Saskatchewan River
University of Alberta

Figure 1. Map of the central part of the city of Edmonton.

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[29] The neighbourhoods of formerly compact Ukrainian settlement in Edmonton extend generally along 97th Street from the bank of the North Saskatchewan River and Jasper Avenue northwards to approximately 112th Avenue. They grew rapidly in the beginning of the twentieth century, when the Ukrainian community was first arriving in substantial numbers, developing successively northward from the riverbank.

The setting in which the museums are found presently (Figure 1) is a result of a series of relocations. The three collections changed addresses a number of times during their history. The Alberta Branch Museum of the Arts and Crafts Museum (now the Ukrainian Museum of Canada) was formally founded at the national convention of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada in 1944. Though collecting activities started long before the founding date, it is not clear where the artefacts had been stored initially. Since 1944, the museum's collection was housed partly in the parish hall of St. John's Orthodox Cathedral and partly in the Hrushevsky Institute. St. John's Institute (formerly the Hrushevsky Institute) housed the complete collection from 1951 until 1965, when the collection was moved to its present location in St. John's Cathedral Auditorium (10611-110 Ave.).[30]

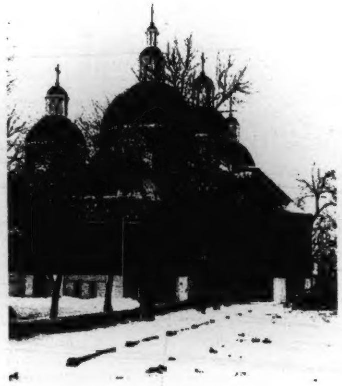

Figure 2. St. Josaphat's Cathedral: UCWL's museum is situated in the basement.

The UCWLC Edmonton Eparchy Museum was founded at the provincial convention of Ukrainian Catholic Women's League in Edmonton in 1952 following several successful short-term exhibits. Housed at 6240-Ada Boulevard in the Most Reverend Neil Savaryn's Bishop's residence until 1975, the collection was moved to St. Josaphat's Cathedral residence and then, in 1983, to a room in the basement of St. Josaphat's Cathedral (10825-97 St.), one of Edmonton's Historic Sites (see Figure 2).[31]

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[30] Kohuska *Half-Century* 1027.

[31] Museum Committee annual reports, courtesy of UCWL.

The collection of UCAMA started in 1968 as a private venture of Hryhoriy and Stephania Yopyk and was stored in their home at 13412 – 115 Ave.[32] The collection quickly became too large for their basement and garage and was partly stored in their restaurant *Astoria* in downtown Edmonton. It moved to its present location at 9543 – 110 Ave. in 1974, the year of the official opening of Ukrainian Canadian Archives and Museum of Alberta.[33]

Recently, UCAMA purchased another home to move its overgrown collection to in the future. The two buildings also have enough space allocated for the collections of the other two museums, based on the possibility of forming a centre sharing common space through the Confederation of Ukrainian Museums of Alberta (CUMA). The newly purchased buildings, constructed in the first decade of the twentieth century, were prominent in Edmonton's downtown until 1914. Together with four adjacent buildings, these six edifices located on Jasper Ave. near 96th Street, form the largest contiguous group of historical structures surviving in Edmonton.[34] The historical location has a potential to intensify the feeling of the past pertinent to the museums – "the felt past is a function of atmosphere as well as locale."[35]

Being situated on church premises for the greater part of their existence, the museums of the two women's religious organizations have become closely associated with the churches. Ukrainian churches in Edmonton are forum-like spaces with a relatively continuous flow of people, an axis around which a segment of the ethnic community revolves. They are also open entities where newcomers are welcome. The church has been a mainstay in preserving and educating the culture, reflected in maintenance of the language, celebrations of holidays, creation of programs for children including Sunday School and language classes, and organizations for people of all ages.[36] The third museum, UCAMA, also offers a forum-like space in incorporating (besides a museum and an archive) a reading room and a display room used for meetings by various organizations and interests groups. As we see, the museums' physical placement reflects their role in the community: these museums once served as centre of gravity attracting the community's active forces.

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[32] Yopyk *UCAMA* 14.
[33] Yopyk *UCAMA* 15.
[34] CUMA, *Minutes of Meeting*, 22 Feb. 2003, courtesy Dr. Nahachewsky.
[35] David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985) 240.

The "temples of post-modern times" here are called to cater not to the identity of a province, state, region, city or a small town, but to the identity of an ethnic minority within the host culture. Self-awareness of Alberta's Ukrainians has been asserted, manifested and propagated by the museums. The community museums were elevated in the popular mind to be viewed by many as depositories of communal "treasures,"[37] the "sacred land"[38] where ordinary objects along with pieces of art are all equal in their afterlife. They also served as a medium for indoctrinating the young in the ways of their ancestors.

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[36] Ukrainian Museum of Canada, Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Saskatoon, Sask. 9 July 2003 <http://www.umc.sk.ca/gallery.htm>.

[37] Mykhailo Marunchak, Foreword, *Ukrainsko-kanads'kyi arkhiv-muzei Al'berty: Pam'iatky Ukrains'kykh pioneriv Al'berty*. [Ukrainian Canadian Archives and Museum of Alberta: Artifacts of Ukrainian Pioneers of Alberta], by Hryhoriy Yopyk (Edmonton: UCAMA, 1982) 8.

[38] M. G-r, "Ukrains'kyi Kanads'kyi Arkhiv-Muzei Al'berty vidmityv svoe 10-richia," *Ukrainian Voice* 5 1984: 1.

Accessibility and Visitation

Conveniently located in the centre of Edmonton, the museums seem to be well accessible for public. However, does the location make the museums visible? One might expect that the St. John's Auditorium, which houses community events every week, is advantageous site for UMC-AB insuring a constant flow of people for the museum. Indeed, whenever the museum doors are open, it does not remain unnoticed. Visitors peek in and unexpectedly get a complete guided tour of the exhibits. People drop in after a funeral, before a wedding reception or family reunion. However, it appears that some of them have lived in Edmonton for several decades but have never visited the museum before. Chester Kuc, the former President of the museum, once called it "the best kept secret in Edmonton."[39] Two of the museums have become associated with their respective churches so much that one can often hear these museums called "St. John's" and "St. Josaphat's" instead of their official names "Ukrainian Museum of Canada, Alberta Branch" or "Ukrainian Catholic Women's League of Canada Edmonton Eparchy Museum." People are not always aware that the museum situated at St. John's is of provincial affiliation to the UWAC, and belongs to all Orthodox parishes in Edmonton and Alberta. Chester Kuc, during his museum presidency, organized a number of temporary exhibits traveling between the various Orthodox parishes in Edmonton to reinforce ties between the museum and its community.

The museums' daily accessibility is dependent on the form of their organization. UCAMA, being a private institution and having paid staff, is open on a full-time basis. In 2003 and 2004, the archives and museum was open for public 9 am to 5 pm from

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[39] Greg Godard, "Ukrainian museum is turning 50 – but few people know it even exists," *Edmonton Journal* 19 Sept. 1994: page.

Tuesday to Saturday. As not-for-profit volunteer organizations, the UMC-AB and the UCWL museum are open by appointment only, except for the period from May to August when they try to hire a subsidized student worker and open their doors for visitors full time. Despite the lack of regular hours during the rest of the year, the two museums are not inaccessible for public. I once witnessed how tourists came to the closed doors of St. Josaphat's basement, read the contact information and used their mobile phones to call the museum stuff. Within fifteen minutes, they were ushered inside by the Museum President, who gave them a guided tour of the museum and the Cathedral. It is noteworthy that the Museum President was not supposed to be at the museum that day and had other arrangements for her busy afternoon. As soon as she received a call, she arranged a ride from her house to the museum to give a guided tour to the tourist couple.

The three museums advertise in several governmental tourist attraction listings in print as well as on-line. The museums do not conduct statistical surveys of their audiences routinely, but can provide a general overview of the types of visitors attended. Within the last few years, the UMC-AB had visitors from Europe, USA, Canada, Ukraine and New Zealand. Locally, it had visitors from high schools (Eastglen High School, McDougall Jr. High School), Brownies, the Ukrainian class in St. John's Cultural Centre, members of the Ukrainian Orthodox Parishes of St. Michael, St. Elijah and St. John, as well as participants of a Western Diocese Conference.

During the past two years, visitors to the UCWL's museum were tourists from the USA, Australia, Europe (including Ukraine), Singapore and India, as well as from across

Canada. Among local visitors were groups of schoolchildren, children from Day Care and *Sadochok* (pre-school), and groups from Senior Homes and UCWL branches.[40]

UCAMA has compiled information on their visitation patterns three times, based on their records in the museum guest book – in 1975, 1989-1992 and 1995. The largest number of visitors was from Alberta, more than half of whom were Edmontonians (reaching 67% in 1995). Visitors from British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Ontario constituted from 19% to 12% in different years. Tourists from the USA averaged 9% of all visitors over the documented period. The number of visitors from Ukraine has grown since Ukraine became independent and reached 4% in 1995. Visitors of Ukrainian descent at all times exceeded 50% of all visitors, though tourists of other ethnic backgrounds constituted a significant group as well.[41]

Visitor profiles, advertising practices and community participation reveal that the museums are oriented both towards the Ukrainian community as well as outside of the community to the general public in Edmonton and from abroad. The goals set by the museums have been to preserve and pass on the culture in order to remain a distinctive group and to increase its profile in the larger population. This dual focus will be shown to affect many aspects of the museums' practices, described in the subchapters that follow.

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[40] Annual report, UCWL Eparchial museum, 2001-2003.
[41] Makar 167-169.

Spatial Organization

> Museum buildings will always cause problems because [...] the buildings will never be large enough.
>
> Edwards, "Tomorrow's Museum"[42]

Each of the three museums experiences the shortage of space available for their exhibits, collections and other activities. Each makes the most of the limited space available to them. Though the situation of each museum is unique and they find different solutions for the most efficient space use, there are certain common traits. It is possible to identify several functional areas, numbered in the floor plans below:[43]

1 – display area;

2 – storage area;

3 – visitor area (gift shop and guest book);

4 – reference library area;

5 – catalogue/documentation filing area;

6 – administrative/office area;

7 – meeting/assembly area.

UMC-AB rents a room in the east wing of St. John's Auditorium. The room is divided into display and storage areas by cabinets (Figure 3). It also has at its disposal two glass display cases and one built-in display in the Auditorium's lobby (Figure 12). The total area of approximately 1,000 square feet is relatively evenly divided between the display and the storage areas. They also incorporate all the other above-mentioned functional areas. Thus, the display area includes a small gift shop cabinet at the entrance with a guest book and promotional booklets on it, as well as a table in the middle where the museum board holds its meetings. The storage area, hidden behind the display cabinets, provides room for the reference library, filing cabinets with the catalogues and other documentation, and a work area featuring a computer with a printer and a scanner.

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[42] Edwards 8.

[43] The floor plans are not to scale.

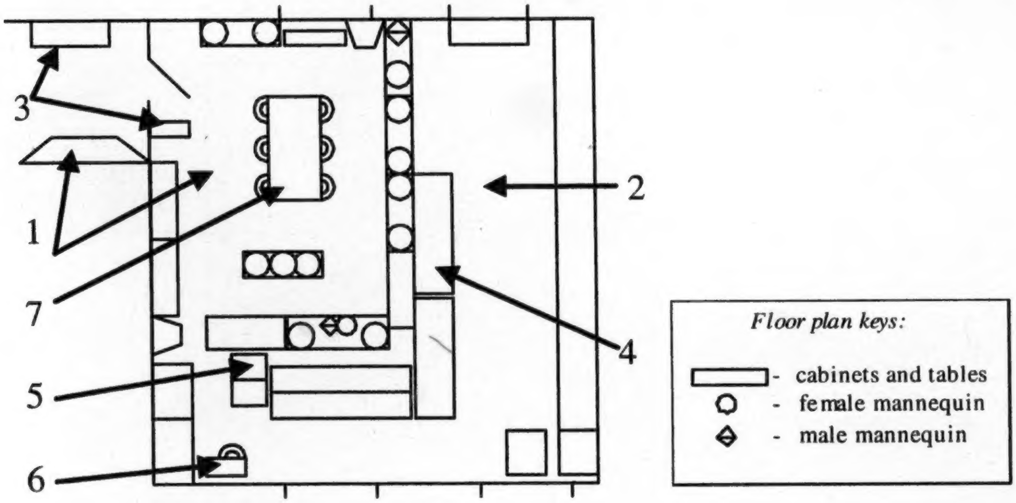

Figure 3. The UMC-AB floor plan.

UCWL's museum owns two adjacent rooms in the basement of St. Josaphat's Cathedral, occupying less than 700 square feet. The display room is multifunctional. It incorporates filing cabinets area with an adjacent small work area and a reference library as well as a visitor area (featuring souvenirs, the museum promotional material and a guest book) and a table in the middle for museum board meetings (Figure 4). The storage room is slightly smaller and amounts to approximately 200 square feet. It is used exclusively for storage of the collection.

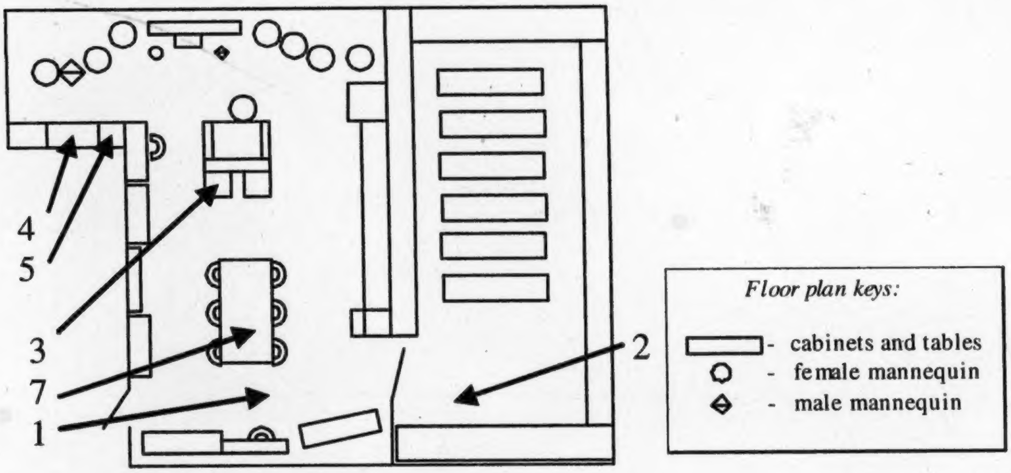

Figure 4. UCWL's museum floor plan.

UCAMA is situated in its own two-storied building with over 5,000 square feet of floor place, and has other holdings besides its ethnographic collection. The ethnographic collection (museum proper) is allocated an individual room on the second floor, accessible by staircase. Approximately 80-85% of the ethnographic collection is on display, which is a much higher percentage than that of the other two museums described in this study. The display area encompasses about 2,000 square feet. The ethnographic collection is important, yet not the largest of UCAMA's holdings. Its library and archival collections are the most extensive and include 40,000 books, 320 newspaper titles occupying 235 linear feet of shelf space, 400 music records, 300 maps, 5,000 photographs, 20 archival collections (fonds) occupying 114 linear feet, and a large number of journals, magazines, calendars and posters.

Other functional areas are not incorporated into the display area, as in case of two other museums. Thus, the visitor guest book and gift shop area, as well as meeting/assembly area, administrative/office area and catalogue/documentation filing areas, library and storage occupy independent rooms.

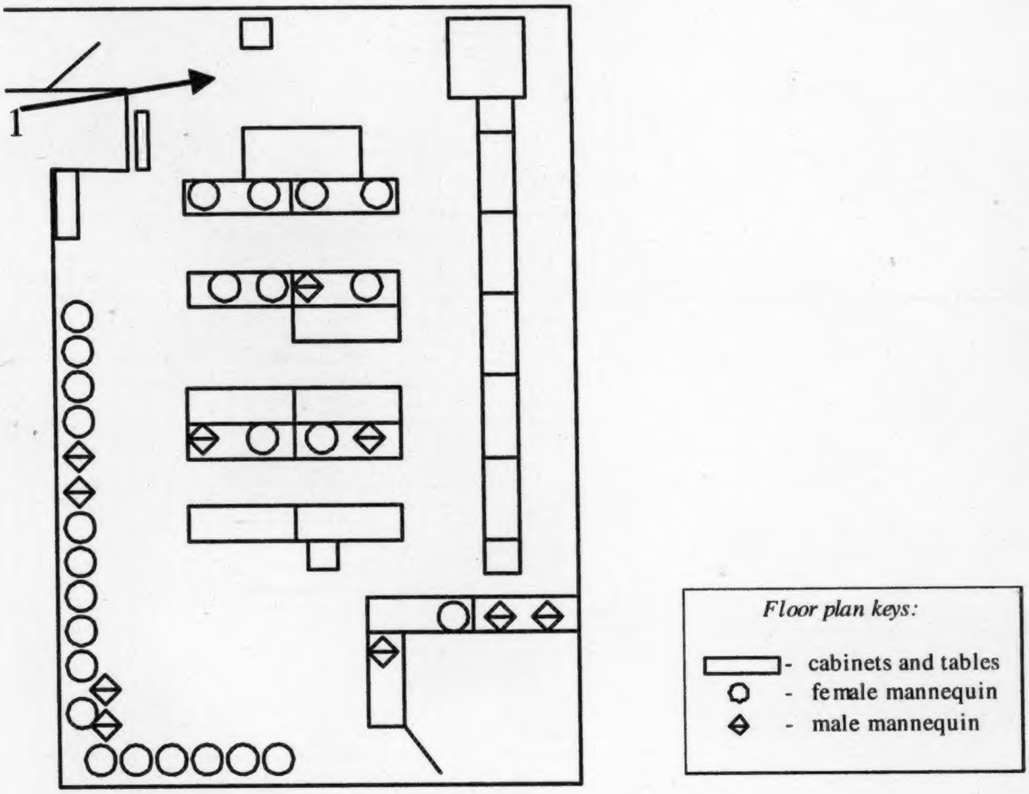
1
Floor plan keys:
- cabinets and tables
- female mannequin
- male mannequin

Figure 5. UCAMA ethnographic exhibit floor plan.

The description of spatial organization shows an important feature characteristic for all three museums: limitation of space and intention to display great variety of artefacts resulted in creation of densely used multi-functional display area.

Collections

You are what you keep.

Proverb

Collections are the heart of museums. They are the constant and integral part of the museums, yet often invisible for the museum audience.[44] Typically, collections determine the range of choices available for shaping a presentation in a display. The collection can be "considered an artefact in itself with a significance which transcends the individual value of the components."[45]

Goals

The value of the collection as an "aggregation" of objects[46] depends on how well it serves to accomplish the goals of the museum.[47] In the course of Ukrainian museological history in Canada, the objectives set by the museum committees were subject to change, influenced by their sociocultural environment.

The priority at the time of conception of the first of the three museums was to create awareness of Ukrainian culture both in the host society and among the fellow Ukrainians. At the time, when the question of creating a Ukrainian museum in Canada was raised for the first time,[48] the attitude to Ukrainian material culture and folk art was often as to something useless and worthless.[49] With the success of the first attempts at exhibiting Ukrainian crafts came a more widespread understanding that "things Ukrainian"[50] could serve as a source of pride for Ukrainians in Canada. Hence, the goal was set to popularize Ukrainian handicrafts by exhibiting, teaching skills and lecturing.

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[44] With the exception of some cases when the museums display the whole collection in some ways, such as the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology with its "Open Storage Gallery" concept, discussed further.

[45] Mensch Ch. 19.

[46] Edwards 8.

[47] Burcaw 47.

Collecting started even before a Ukrainian museum was created because of the centralizing efforts of UWAC. Besides organizing its own exhibits, the Association often served as a mediator between private owners of handicraft objects and the Arts and Crafts Guild, who organized various fairs and displays. After being exhibited, the "temporary collections"[51] were usually dissolved and the objects were returned to their owners. The exhibited folk art was critically acclaimed through awards and prizes, newspaper publications, and desire to buy the handicraft items. Interest to Ukrainian arts and crafts expressed by non-Ukrainian public served as an impetus to initiation of "ethnocultural feminist" movement.[52] This movement encouraged introduction of Ukrainian handicrafts into everyday life of Ukrainian Canadians. According to the program of the UWAC, proposed in 1927, its goal was to work on becoming good citizens of Canada, this new adopted homeland that provides freedom of cultural development, through "honouring one's own [culture]."[53] At this stage of the museum history, "temporary collections" served the double purpose of providing "something tangible for the younger generation to build their Ukrainian-ness upon," and incorporating Ukrainian elements (mainly embroidery) into the contemporary urban home environment.[54]

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[48] Creation of a museum was, apparently, first proposed at as early as in 1920s at a convention of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League. Seniw, interview.

[49] Kohuska *Twenty-Five Years* 61.

[50] By "things Ukrainian" Ukrainian material culture and folk art are meant here, which were referred to as "*ukrainske narodne mystetstvo*" (translated at different times as "Ukrainian national arts," or "Ukrainian folk art"), "*ruchne mystetsvo*" and "*remeslo*" ("handicraft" and "crafts") in Ukrainian-language publications.

[51] Activities associated with collecting of handiwork objects before the museums were organized had several attributes characteristic for management of collections *per se*, such as selecting, collecting proper, documenting, insuring and conserving. By announcing the specific kinds of items wanted, the UWAC initiated the process of defining the range of objects to be selected to represent "Ukrainian crafts." Collection was done by local branches and individual volunteers throughout Canada, and then sent to the national executive branch of the UWAC. Documentation of objects was carried out through keeping a record of each item's number, owner's name and address. Each object was to have its identification information on a piece of fabric attached to it. All objects were insured. An indication of the future conservation concerns of the Ukrainian museums was the lack of experience with transporting *pysanky*. To prevent destruction of these brittle objects, the collectors emphasized that special precautions were necessary for sending them by post. On the other hand, unlike collections proper, "temporary collections" were created for the purpose of one exhibit only. See UWAC, "*V spravi vystavy ukrains'koho narodnioho mystetstva* [On the matter of the exhibit of Ukrainian folk art]," *Ukrainian Voice* 30 July 1930: 11.

The goals of the collecting activities were somewhat reformulated by the end of the 1940s, which coincided with founding of the network of the UWAC's museums, including the one in Edmonton, as well as with arrival of the third wave of the Ukrainian immigration to Canada.[55] Having acknowledged handicraft as a pride of every Ukrainian woman, Emma Verkhomin, the first head of the UMC-AB, underlined that the purpose of the museum collection is to preserve as many treasures of the ancestors as possible. She noted that the special significance of preservation lies in association that the things collected have with life and history of the people. In addition, the museum collection must serve as a base for researching embroidery from different parts of Ukraine as well as for propagation of embroidery through borrowing the designs.[56] In general, the goals of the UMC-AB have been formulated as "preservation and nurturing" of the Ukrainian folk arts.[57]

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[52] The term "ethnocultural feminism" was used by Natalie Ostryzniuk in relation to Ukrainian women's movement in Canada (discussed in the Sub-Chapter "Gender Bias"), because of its strong emphasis on retaining and promoting Ukrainian culture. See Natalie Ostryzniuk, "Savella Stechishin, an Ethnocultural Feminist and Ukrainian Culture in Saskatchewan. Part III," Promin [Hamilton, ON] Apr. 2000: 17-20.

[53] Kohuska *Twenty-Five Years* 31.

[54] Anastasia Ruryk, "*Viddil Soiuzu Ukrainok Kanady: Zvit litnioho z'izdu Coiuzu ukrainok Kanady v Saskatuni* [Branch of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada: Report from the summer convention of the UWAC]," *Ukrainian Voice* [Winnipeg] 1 Oct. 1930: 11.

[55] Post WW2 Ukrainian immigrants to Canada, who included many Displaced Persons (DP's), were different from the first two waves of the Ukrainian immigration to Canada, since they included fewer peasants and a much higher percentage of persons with college, university and technical education. Most of them were highly politicized being anti-Communist and "self-proclaimed missionaries on behalf of Ukrainian liberation." As a result of their arrival, the Ukrainian Canadian community was greatly revitalized. See Vladimir J. Kaye (Kysilewsky) and Frances Swyripa, "Settlement and Colonization," Manoly R. Lupul, ed., *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982) 53-4.

The objectives of the UCWL's museum, which was founded in 1952 after two successful exhibits, largely coincided with those of UMC. They also encouraged educating the younger generation in folk art, decorating homes in "Ukrainian style," acquiring national clothes, getting involved in handicraft and placing responsibility for family on women. For the UCWL, this had special significance for "saving the world" by "starting its rebirth in the family" in view of the "Communist threat."[58] The UCWL also emphasized preservation as purpose of the museum existence:

> [The first exhibits of the UCWL] revealed that Ukrainians in Alberta have a large number of folk art objects, which must be preserved for the future generations as samples of the people's artistic expression and evidence of culture brought by Ukrainians to Canada. These objects needed to be salvaged without delay, because many things were destroyed and perished irretrievably.[59]

Overall, though the goals of the UCWL's museum were almost identical to the goals of the UMC, they had a stronger political message. The notions of "heritage" and "Canadian mosaic" are articulate in the statement that the UCWL aspires "to develop valuable national customs heritage and weave these national characteristics into the

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[56] "*Simnadtsiatyi Provintsial'nyi Z'izd Soiuzu Ukrainok Kanady v Edmontoni, Alta.* [The Seventeenth Provintial Convention of the Ukrainian Women's Association in Edmonton, Alta.]," *Ukrainian Voice* 15 1947: 11.

[57] Kohuska *Twenty-Five Years* 71.

[58] "*Ukrains'ki Katolytski Zhinky Zakhidnoho Ekzarkhatu vidbuly uspishnyi z'izd* [Ukrainian Catholic Women of the Western Diocese held a successful convention]," the UCWL's museum archive.

[59] Pavlykovska *Dlia Boha* 79. [My translation: VH]

Canadian way of life"[60] (sic), foreshadowing use of terminology that would be repeated with the use of Canadian multiculturalism decades later.

When UCAMA was being formed, the efforts of the earlier two museums had already shown positive results. The founder of UCAMA Hryhoriy Yopyk gratefully acknowledged their work on preserving Ukrainian culture for posterity and making it a source of pride and a witness of the Ukrainian contribution into the collective treasury of Canada.[61] Yopyk saw his museum's mandate as giving a "cultural birth certificate" to the younger generation, so they would feel in charge of this land which was cultivated by their ancestors.[62] He wanted to preserve all the cultural relics to make them a lasting monument to pioneers, to remind people about their accomplishments in nurturing Ukrainian culture in Canada.[63] As a nationalist, he was also very concerned about preserving national aspect of Ukrainian culture and history, which he saw as being destroyed by the Communist government in Ukraine.[64] He regarded cultural relics as a source of truthful information about the past[65] which needed to be salvaged and deposited in a museum.[66]

As we see, the founders of these Ukrainian museums saw them as means of raising awareness about traditional Ukrainian culture as well as depositories for its rapidly disappearing manifestations. The two women's museums also emphasized the tasks of sustaining of traditional crafts and promotion of them to the larger public.

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[60] "Role of Modern Women Theme of League Meet," *Edmonton Journal* 8 Dec. 1949: n.p.
[61] Yopyk *UCAMA* 18.
[62] Mykhailo Marunchak, Foreword, *Ukrainsko-kanads'kyi arkhiv-muzei Al'berty: Pam'iatky ukrains'kykh pioneriv Al'berti [Ukrainian Canadian Archives and Museum of Alberta: Artefacts of Ukrainian Pioneers of Alberta], by Hryhoriy Yopyk* (Edmonton: UCAMA, 1982) 7.
[63] Yopyk *UCAMA* 18.
[64] Yopyk *UCAMA* 13.
[65] Hryhoriy Yopyk, "*Sviatochne vidkryttia Arkhivu-Muzeiu* [Celebrating the opening of the Archives and Museum]," *Ukrainian News* 37 1974: 1.
[66] Hryhoriy Yopyk, "*Uvaha! Zbyraemo do muzeiu i arkhivu* [Attention! We collect for the museum and the archives]," *Ukrainian News* 4 1970: 8.

Vision for Collecting

Burcaw distinguishes between active and passive collecting. By active collecting, she understands the situation when a museum determines the kinds of objects it ought to contain, and than consistently pursues them. Passive collecting, on the other hand, occurs when a museum relies on the general public's notion of what to offer to the museum.[67] The three museums under discussion engaged in active collecting in the beginning of their existence. The collecting efforts of the both women's organizations were centralized. Provincial Executives circulated their guidelines among their branches throughout Alberta. In many cases, museum activists personally visited various localities, and thus coordinated their work in retrieving objects for their collections. When Yopyk resolved to start a museum, he embarked on a series of trips around the Alberta Ukrainian farming communities, accompanied by his wife and sometimes a priest. In their first six years of collecting they made about 250 trips for artefacts.[68] In the later stages of these three museums' development, they relied much more on donors themselves for determining of the character of new acquisitions.

When the UWAC started collecting at the end of 1930s, it was first interested exclusively in embroidery patterns and designs, weaving samples, women's shirts and

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[67] Burcaw 50.
[68] Makar 158.

pysanky designs.[69] By 1937 Stechishin indicated the need to collect other crafts to be deposited in the museum in order to help develop Ukrainian handicrafts in Canada.[70]

The UCWL approached its collecting activities systematically and published calls for artefacts in its newspapers *Katolyts'ka aktsia* (Catholic Action) and *Ukrainian News*, which were intended for educating both the League members and others that subscribed to these newspapers. The UCWL's calls for artefacts contained detailed lists of objects desirable for their museum collection, grouped into categories. The speech of Maria Holod at the first convention of the UCWL gave a summary of "*narodne mystetstvo.*"[71] Its main attributes included masterful craftsmanship, diversity of regional variations, and deep-rooted tradition. She also gave detailed advice on the requirements for the national/folk costume and underlined the significance of the Poltava regional dress as the representative national costume. These calls for artefacts also contained indications as to where and how to look for potential museum objects.[72]

UCAMA's policy for collecting built upon earlier perceptions of the Ukrainian community about what belongs in a Ukrainian museum. However, the UCAMA also adjusted it to collect other artefacts such as photographs, books, chronicles, medals, etc.[73]

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[69] Kohuska *Half-Century* 506.

[70] Kohuska *Half-Century* 507.

[71] Maria Holod, "*Ukrainske narodne mystetstvo* [Ukrainian folk art]," *Ukrainian News* 22 Feb. 1949: 2.

[72] Holod, "*Ukrainske narodne mystetstvo*" 2.

[73] Hryhoriy Yopyk "*Ukrainsko-kanads'kyi arkhiv muzei Al'berty* [Ukrainian Canadian Archives and Museum of Alberta]," *Ukrainian News* 31 1973: 8.

Cataloguing

The need to preserve information about the museum objects was recognized by the museums since the beginning of their existence.[74] At least one activist claimed that such information was of no lesser importance than the artefacts themselves.[75]

Presently, UMC-AB uses several media to store information about artefacts: acquisition sheets, a card catalogue, an artefact photograph catalogue and an electronic database. In the card catalogue the items are grouped according to subject categories. This kind of arrangement of cards in a catalogue proved to make preparation of thematic exhibits more efficient, and was implemented with help from a visiting museum professional from Ukraine.[76] The card catalogue is a secondary way to store information in this museum and is based on the acquisition sheets. For this reason, the acquisition sheets were used to compile information for this thesis. They are in English, with Ukrainian native names of objects, geographical and ethnographic regions of Ukraine transliterated. Acquisition sheets are the original documents intended to be filled in at the time the artefacts are donated or purchased by the museum. The catalogue fields are listed in Table 3 (see Appendix).

The UCWL's museum registers the acquired objects in a hand-written Ukrainian-language book documenting object information at the time of its acquisition. For the convenience of exhibiting, Ukrainian-language and English-language card catalogues

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[74] "*Simnadtsiatyi Provintsial'nyi Z'izd Soiuzu Ukrainok Kanady v Edmontoni, Alta.* [The Seventeenth Provintial Convention of the Ukrainian Women's Association in Edmonton, Alta.]," *Ukrainian Voice* 15 1947: 11.

[75] Irene Pavlykovska, "*Zbyraimo muzeini rechi* [Let us collect museum objects]," *Katolytska aktsiia* Sept. 1953: 5.

[76] Seniw, personal interview, 23 July 2003. In general, the expertise of the museum professionals, including those from Ukraine, is much appreciated by the museums. Whenever possible, the museums rely on their services and publications. Kuc, personal interview, 19 September 2003, and "50th Anniversary of the UCWLC's Alberta Eparchy Museum," video record by Markian Kovaliuk.

(arranged according to the accession number, and thus, by date of acquisition), as well as a photograph catalogue, are used. In the photograph catalogue the artefacts are arranged into two albums, the first according to date of accessioning, and the second according to subject/artefact type. The acquisition book is considered to be the most complete, being an original document, while the English card catalogue is a translation. The English-language card catalogue of this museum was used for consistency of the analysis since the databases analysed for the other two museums are in English. The fields of the card catalogue required to be filled in are listed in Table 3 (see Appendix).

UCAMA made available an electronic Excel spreadsheet version of its catalogue for the purpose of this analysis. The electronic database is a copy of a hand-written catalogue that had drawings of artefacts. The fields of the database are listed in Table 3 (see Appendix).

Analysis of the data from the catalogues was associated with difficulties caused by varying degrees of consistency of catalogues.[77] Challenges stemmed from at least two factors. First, accessioning of the artefacts was not always the first priority of the museum work. The charts below demonstrate that the two women's museums accessioned their new acquisitions quite consistently at least until the 1980s. According to the electronic database of UCAMA, the artefacts were formally accessioned in two waves, from 1976 to 1979, and from 1999 to 2000.[78]

The second factor that has caused absences in the artefact records remains informational loss, increasingly affecting the lack of detail in provenance of artefacts.

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[77] The absence of information was observed in many cases. See below.

[78] This does not necessarily reflect the time that the artefacts arrived at the museum, nor the initial documentation of the selected data about the artefacts. Rather, it indicates the time of concerted efforts of the museum workers to process the cataloguing.

This informational loss occurred when the object suffered a break in its connection with people who owned/used it. At a certain stage in the object's history, that takes place between the time of the object's creation and it becoming a museum object, the object can become obsolete. During this stage of obsolescence, the object becomes irrelevant and even undesirable. It loses its economic value and is often discarded. If it physically survives, it may be found by someone who values it for new reasons, and it may find its way into a museum collection. According to the *Rubbish Theory* proposed by Thompson, the "obsolescence stage" is inevitable for an object to gain its "durability," i.e. desirability as a museum object.[79] A frequent by-product of the "obsolescence stage" is the loss of detailed knowledge about the object's origin and earlier use.

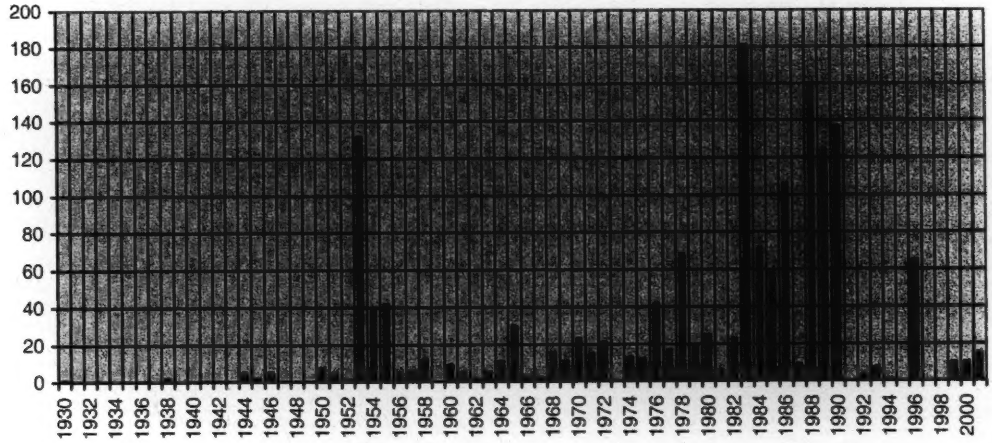

Figure 6. UMC-AB: dynamics of museum objects accessioning.

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[79] Michael Thompson, *Rubbish Theory* (Oxford: n.p., 1979).

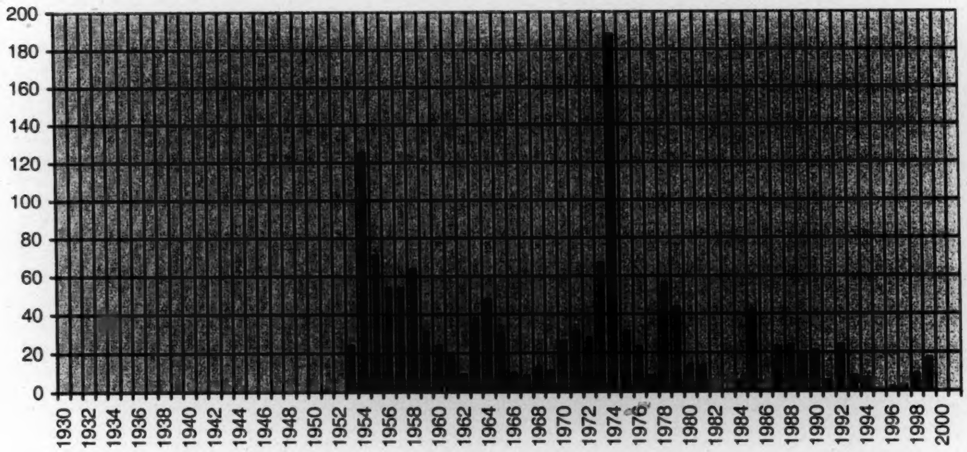

Figure 7. UCWL's museum: dynamics of museum objects accessioning.

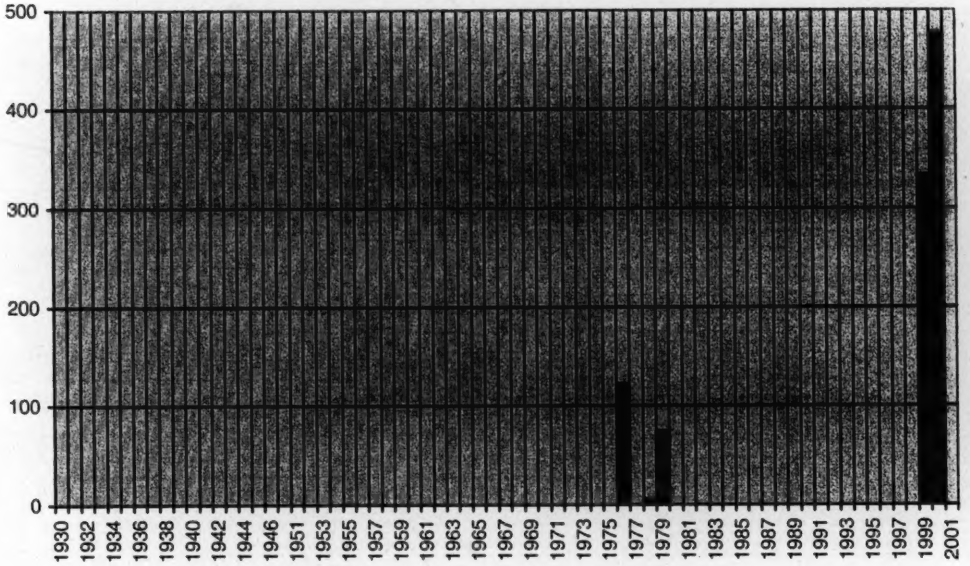

Figure 8. UCAMA: dynamics of museum objects accessioning.

The charts above indicate some of the common trends in the rise or drop of the accessioning activities for at least two of the museums, UMC-AB and the UCWL's museum. Thus, the early 1950s witnessed a remarkable increase of the number of museum accessions, which was most likely caused by a combination of several factors.[80] Another rise of accessioning activities came in 1970s on the surge of ethnic revival and might be favoured by the introduction of Canadian policy of multiculturalism. It was in this period that UCAMA was founded and had its first wave of accessioning complete. The two women's museums display a decline of accessioning activities in the 1990s, which coincided with the decline in their educational activities as well. UMC-AB enjoyed the most intensive period of accessioning in the 1980s, largely due to the efforts of Chester Kuc, the Museum Board President at that time, who established channels for acquisition of artefacts from Ukraine.

Generally, the fields of the three catalogues analysed follow the same pattern and require recording of four main types of data pertaining to artefacts: identification information facilitating retrieving of the object in the museum, descriptive information, information about origin of the object and the object's history.

For the purpose of analysis in this thesis the compilation of data about the artefacts in the three museums was limited to several selected fields, namely the artefact's name (English and transliterated Ukrainian), year of accessioning, year of creation, place of creation. The artefacts were grouped into standardized categories of objects, and dates of creation were grouped into twenty-year periods. This selected information allowed for developing charts that help characterize the museums' collections both from the contemporary perspective and historically.

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[80] Among the factors that favoured the increase of the accessioning activities was the post-war wave of Ukrainian immigration, which brought both an influx of artefacts and activists dedicated to the cause of museum development.

My choice of fields to be analysed was based on the statements of priorities expressed by two of the leading proponents of Ukrainian museological activities in Edmonton, Irene Butsmaniuk and Irene Pavlykovska.[81] In their calls for collecting artefacts, they explicitly state the key aspects of documentary value of an artefact for the UCWL's museum: what it is (or what it was used for), where it comes from, who made it, what it was called and what material it is made from. They also called on collectors to record name of the design and description of the technique used in making the object.[82]

The requests to ask these questions while collecting was an acknowledgement that these objects were survivals from the past, and that the knowledge about their functions and composition was being lost. Many of the objects collected, including clothing items, household and farming tools and supplies, had completely fallen out of use by the time they entered the museum. Once recorded, not only the physical objects themselves, but also this knowledge could be preserved and used for educational purposes.

An object itself becomes a document after being selected as a museum object and entering the museum context. Documentary value is a special nature of the museological object which is acquired, according to Stransky's definition, when an "object [is] separated from its actual reality and transferred to a new, museum reality in order to document the reality from which it was separated."[83] Museum objects are "ontologically coincident with objects in general, but as to their semantic, they have a new function, i.e.

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[81] Irene Butsmaniuk, "Zbyraimo rechi do muzeiu! [Let's collect objects for the museums!]" *Ukrainian News* 16 March 1953, and Pavlykovska, "Zbyraimo muzeini rechi [Let's collect museum objects]" 5.
[82] Butsmaniuk, "Zbyraimo rechi do muzeiu! [Let's collect objects for the museums!]" and Pavlykovska, "Zbyraimo muzeini rechi [Let's collect museum objects]" 5.
[83] Z. Stransky, "Pojam muzeologije [Museological Concepts]," *Muzeologija* (8) 1970: 40-73. [qtd. in Mensch Ch. 16]

the function of authentic witnesses, documents, and/or the testimony of natural and social facts."[84] Peter van Mensch proposed a model of "information structure in objects," based on the distinction of three levels of data: the object's physical properties (referred to as its structural identity), its functional properties and significance (functional identity), and its relationship to its context (contextual identity).[85]

The place of origin of an object and its maker (folk group or individual) are the aspects that seem to have been placed at the top of the hierarchy of the object's documentary value by all the three museums. These characteristics are part of the objects' "contextual identity." They are discussed in Chapter 2. Second priorities appear to be different for the three museums as they assign meanings to their museum objects. UMC-AB and UCWL's museum emphasize the "structural identity" of their museum objects. Records of objects' physical properties, which include detailed descriptions of material they are made from, name of the design, description of the technique, tailoring peculiarities, location and type of embroidery motives, type of threads as well as their native names and so on, are not exclusively intended for cataloguing the museum objects. This kind of record reflects the focus of the two women's museums on educational activities encouraging the preservation and popularization of traditional skills. On the other hand, in the case of UCAMA, the documentary value of the object does not depend on its physical properties, but on its association with persons or historical situations (another aspect of "contextual identity"). UCAMA pays special attention to preserving history, which accounts for its interest in recording the individual history of objects.

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[84] Z. Stransky, "Originals Versus Substitutes," *Originals and Substitutes in Museum*, ed. V. Sofka, ICOFOM Study Series 9 (Stockholm 1985) [95-102.] 98. [qtd. in Mensch Ch. 16]
[85] Mensch Ch.12.

The time of creation of the objects is another aspect to be tested in the subsequent discussions in relation to its significance and place in the hierarchy of meanings of the culture defined by the museums. Despite the fact that all the three catalogues contain the field that requires recording of the date of creation, its absence in the activists' statement of data-recording priorities seems to be meaningful, which is discussed in the Sub-Chapter "Time Bias."

The museums had somewhat different approaches to cataloguing, which reflected the priorities and styles of their organizers. All museums focused on origins of their artefacts (part of "contextual identity"). In addition to this, the museums operated by the two women's organizations emphasized "structural identity" of artefacts, while UCAMA's cataloguing procedure highlighted relationship of artefacts to their historical environment as another aspect of "contextual identity."

Language of Cataloguing

Initially, the cataloguing language for all three museums was Ukrainian. Gradually, similar to all the other documentation in the museums, the cataloguing became bilingual, and now, it is written largely English. Though the three museums have several media to store their cataloguing data, the ones most used presently (for selecting objects to be exhibited) are in English.[86] The language of cataloguing is itself a particular facet of information about the artefacts. Written records about artefacts are not only an inventory to keep objects in order. They have documentary value by preserving data about the museum objects' original functions and context, as well as containing indications regarding their physical properties. A native name contains information associated with an object particular for the specific culture. Often, these terms do not have adequate equivalents in other languages. With translation of these names into another language, a certain part of information associated with the artefact is being lost.

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[86] UCWL's museum is an exception; the museum workers use both Ukrainian and English catalogues.

Perhaps it is for this reason that the English catalogues of the UMC and UCWL's museum include a space for the recording of the native Ukrainian names. The practical realization of this provision encounters certain difficulties. First, many items of Ukrainian clothing have different names in different regions, as for instance, *horbotka*, *horbatka*, *obhortka* (skirt). Second, the native name of the object is often unknown to donors due to language loss and general lack of available detail about the object's provenance. Whenever a Ukrainian name is used in an English-language catalogue, it is transliterated from Cyrillic into the Latin alphabet.

The museums' use of English-language catalogues also presupposes translation of object names into English. Here, the translation gains status of a primary field, called "name of specimen," with "native name of object" being secondary to it (See the lists of acquisition fields in Table 3 in Appendix).[87] Difficulties in translation, as has been noted earlier, are associated with the cultural uniqueness of the objects, and are a common issue for any Ukrainian museum in diaspora. Three strategies have been developed to present the names of objects in English. The simplest solution is to find a relatively similar term in the target language, for instance, "shirt," to stand for "*sorochka*" and "towel" to stand for "*rushnyk.*" However, in many cases this method appears to be unsatisfactory because the English term obliterates differences between distinctive variants of items of one kind. This way words "vest" or "jacket" do not convey the regional peculiarities of the traditional "*bezrukavka,*" "*kirsetka,*" "*keptar*" and "*leibyk.*" A second strategy provides a somewhat greater degree of detail by using an explanatory or descriptive name. Consequently, *horbotka*, *horbatka*, *obhortka,* and *plakhta* (terms that signal regional varieties of a Ukrainian skirt consisting of one or two rectangular pieces, worn by women wrapped around the waist and held in place by a woven sash) have became known among Ukrainians in Canada and recorded in the museums' English-language catalogues as a "wrap-around skirt."

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[87] UCAMA does not have a field in its electronic database for recording Ukrainian names of objects.

In a few cases translation is avoided altogether, but a native term is retained instead. The term "*pysanka*" is sometimes consciously chosen rather than "decorated Easter egg." It was specifically mentioned to me that "decorated Easter egg" is not an appropriate name for this very particular distinctive kind of Easter egg characteristic for Ukrainian people, just as "Scottish men's skirt" is not an ample name for "kilt."[88] Such native terms force some degree of cultural immersion – and make the museum objects a cultural phenomenon on their own terms. To some degree, these objects have become symbols of Ukrainian-ness in Canada,[89] and *pysanka*, *bandura*, *tsymbaly* and others have entered the lexicon of Canadians as self-explanatory terms that do not require translation.

The transliteration of Ukrainian place names is also associated with certain difficulties. As the discussion in the Sub-Chapter "Region Bias" will demonstrate, information about an object's region of origin is important for the museums. However, systematization of catalogues according to regions of origin is hindered by the variety of spellings of the Ukrainian geographical names. Some village names in the museum catalogues have up to three spelling variations. The village of Banyliv is spelled in five different ways across the three museum catalogues: Banyliv, Banyliw, Banilova, Banylova, Banyliv Rusky. This variety results from both subjective and objective reasons. Besides occasionally unjustified transference of Ukrainian grammatical forms into English,[90] interchange of consonants v/w based on phonetic differences of regional dialects and unsystematic use of transliteration systems,[91] there is an objective reason for this diversity associated with historic and political change. Recognition of local place-names is complicated for the museum workers and donors by the geography of rural Ukraine saturated with many settlements. It is further complicated by the legacy of administrative cartographic measures of each successive government that happened to control the Ukrainian lands. Thus, Halychyna (Galicia) had Polish, German, and later Ukrainian and Russian, as official languages at different times, each of which resulted in a different spelling for place names.[92] These spelling variants were preserved in various documents taken by Ukrainian immigrants to Canada. Since these documents, or recollections about them, often serve as the only clue to the donated object's provenance, museum workers have to deal with a multiplicity of place name variations.

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[88] Cyncar, personal interview, 6 November 2003.

[89] For discussion of Ukrainian Canadian symbols, see Jars Balan, "The Search of Symbols: Some Observations," 162-6, Zenon Pohorecky, "Ukrainian Cultural and Political Symbols in Canada: An Anthropological Selection," 129-41, Wsevolod Isajiw, "Symbols and Ukrainian Canadian Identity: Their Meaning and Significance," 119-28 and others in Manoly Lupul, ed., *Visible Symbols: Cultural Expression Among Canada's Ukrainians* (Edmonton: U of Alberta P, 1984).

The UCWL's museum strives to retain place name variants whenever they are indicative of the historic period an artefact was made or acquired.[93] This way an "outdated" form of a place name would serve as a kind of artefact itself with historic and cultural information encoded in it. For instance, "a shirt made in Berhomiti" contains reference to the interwar time in the first half of the twentieth century, when this Bukovynian settlement belonged to Romania, while "a shirt made in Berehomet" does not have this reference.[94] Hence, museum workers have retained the particular spelling in hopes that, given the scarcity of provenance, it might assist in suggesting the time period from which the object comes. A different strategy for place names, evident in the three catalogues, is to try to render all place names according to Ukrainian usage and to transliterate from Ukrainian spelling. This approach is consistent with the museum's goals of promoting Ukrainian culture and identity.

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[90] Banilova and Banylova are forms of the Ukrainian genitive case of this place name used incorrectly instead of the nominative case, which should be used for the English transliteration.

[91] Among the existing transliteration systems International system and Library of Congress system are the most common standard forms. Nonetheless, it is not infrequent that the terms are also transliterated according to whatever makes best sense to donor or the museum worker at the time.

[92] Paul R. Magocsi, *Ukrainian Heritage Notes: The Language Question in Galicia* (Cambridge, Mass. : Ukrainian Studies Fund, 1978).

[93] Vera Kunda, personal interview, 10 September 2003.

In summary, the issue of language use for the purpose of documentation of artefacts is tightly connected with the problem of cultural competency and cultural translation. The museums developed several strategies to deal with these problems striking a precarious balance between the use of Ukrainian and English, between general terms and dialect terms, as well as between popularization of culture and preserving integrity of the native cultural terms.

Summary of the Collections

The three collections are comparable in size. UMC-AB has 1569 objects recorded in their acquisition sheets. UCWL's museum has 1635 objects recorded in their English card catalogue. UCAMA has 1346 objects recorded in their electronic database.[95] The charts below (Figure 9, 10 and 11) indicate the types of objects and their relative proportions in each museum's collection.[96]

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[94] Berehomet is the name of this settlement used today. The example is based on UMC-AB catalogue.

[95] The numbers do not include recent acquisitions. UCAMA has separate catalogues for its art collection, the library and the archives, which are not discussed in this project.

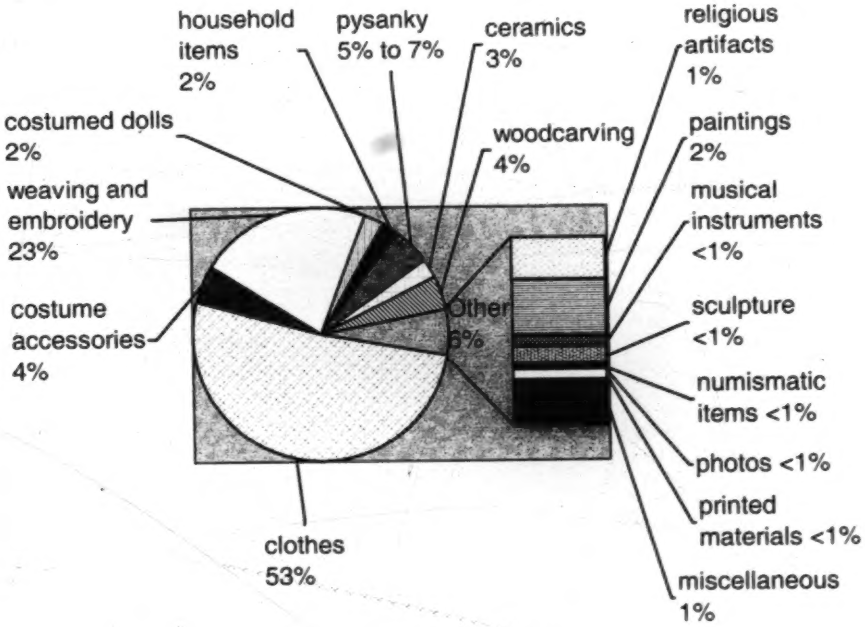

Figure 9. UMC-AB collection: types of museum objects.

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[96] I standardized categories for the purpose of this analysis. The percentages are based on the existing catalogues for each museum's collection.

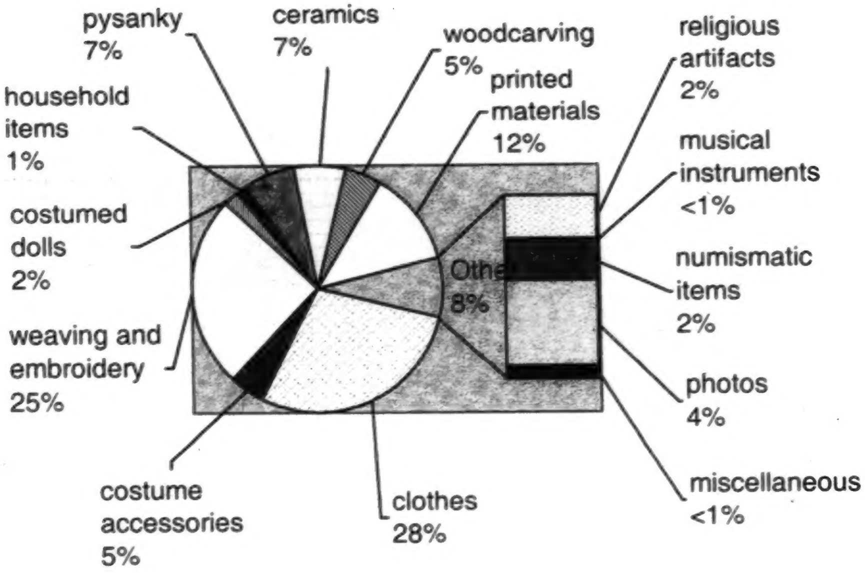

Figure 10. UCWL's museum collection: types of museum objects.

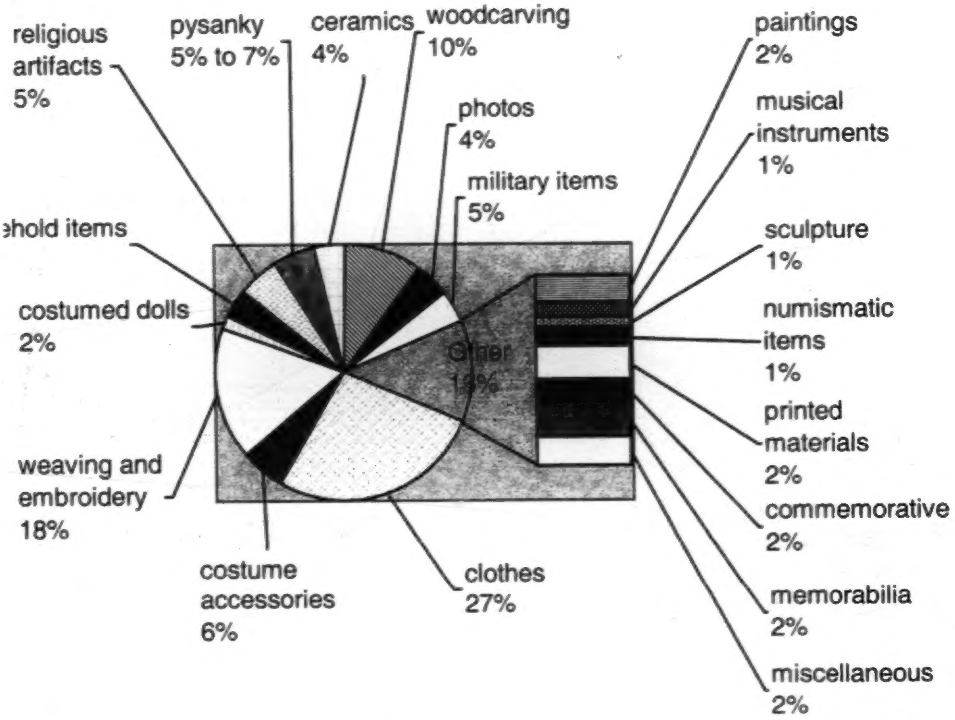

Figure 11. UCAMA ethnographic collection: types of museum objects.

Each of the museums contains the same types of objects and in strikingly similar proportions. Clothing constitutes the largest category of artefacts in each of the museums, with weavings and embroidery being the second largest type. Aside from the very clear focus on textiles, the museums each also feature woodcarvings, ceramics, *pysanky* and other folk arts and crafts.[97]

Each of the museums also contains household items, costumed dolls, religious artefacts, paintings and printed materials in varying quantities. Printed materials differ in character in the three museums. The UMC-AB and UCWL's museum both include printed embroidery patterns, booklets, prayer books, and other printed materials. UCAMA holds newspaper clippings, images of prominent personalities, and photographs within the museum component of their operations, while other printed materials are in its library, separate from ethnographic collection.

Composition of the collection of UCAMA differs from that of the other two museums mainly because it includes military items, commemorative items and memorabilia. The latter category comprises objects of personal use that belonged to prominent Ukrainian Canadians.

Overall, these three museums have similar kinds of items in their collections, with a few exceptions. The specific proportion of the museum objects reveals their specialization and individual character to some degree. The individuality of each of the museums is revealed more in their use of collections for exhibiting purposes, discussed below.

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[97] The number of Easter eggs is only an estimate. They are sometimes catalogued in sets and the number of actual eggs is sometimes unspecified. The UCWL's museum has more than a hundred *pysanky*, while UCAMA and UMC-AB each have between fifty and a hundred.

Permanent exhibits

> The exhibit is a medium for communication for which museums are famous. People like exhibits. Large museums may be communicating in a dozen ways, as through television, books, and auditorium, but it is the exhibits that most people identify with the word "museum." In fact most people are surprised to find that museums offer more than exhibits.
>
> Edwards, "Tomorrow's Museum"[98]

Exhibits, and especially permanent exhibits, are the face of the museum.[99] Permanent exhibits can be displayed for different duration of time and can differ by form and theme. Yet most of the time, they are used to display what the museum is about. They present the personality of the museum to its audience through making choices of what to select from the collections and how to arrange the selected artefacts on a display. Following a descriptive overview of permanent exhibits, this chapter explores how the museums under study make use of their collections, their space, and auxiliary material for permanent exhibits in 2003.

Descriptions

UMC-AB

You can see from outside of St. John's Auditorium that the museum is open – there will be light behind the museum's large glass doors. You cannot see the light through museum windows, because the huge windows on the north and south have heavy curtains, tightly drawn at all times. Sunlight can damage artefacts.

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[98] R. Yorke Edwards, "Tomorrow's Museum," *Gazette* 10.1 (1977): 9.
[99] Mensch Ch 22.

When you enter the hall of the Auditorium, you see three display cases. Just opposite the entrance there is a glass case with ritual breads. Seven pieces of various wedding breads are placed on embroidered cloths. A sign describes the central piece – *korovai*, - and gives explanation to customs and meanings associated with it. An interesting detail: "The cross-stitched towelette on the top symbolizes the cultural heritage behind the Korovai" (sic). The sign also contains a disclaimer: "This Korovai has been made for decorative purposes. The dough is non-consumable, the myrtle and periwinkle have been treated, and the Korovai has been sprayed."[100]

Close to the museum's door stands a built-in glass case with a mannequin dressed in women's attire of the Hutsul region. Wood carved inlaid boxes complement the presentation of the region. Contemporary map of Ukraine is displayed for reference (Figure 12).[101]

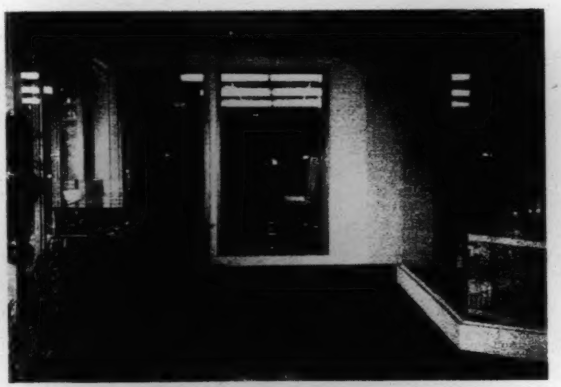

Figure 12. UMC-AB: entrance from the lobby of the St.John's Auditorium. Museum's display cabinets in the lobby.

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[100] These ritual breads were a small part of exhibit organized by Chester Kuc in the early 1990s. He invited Mrs. Cyncar of UCWL's museum to lead a group of UWAC's women to research and bake these breads. After the exhibit, although the breads were chemically treated to last long (and many couples in the local Ukrainian community do keep their wedding breads in their cupboards for decades), the breads could not be kept in the museum due to two factors: the museum policy does not allow storage of perishable items, and the exhibit space is very limited. The breads ended up in a garage of an the UMC-AB member.

[101] This display is used to present various regions through the display of attire and crafts. It is the only display, which is being changed regularly. I've been explained that in a number of years, the rest of the permanent exhibit is not changed due to extreme fragility of mannequins.

In front of the museum's door, there is a display case advertising museum's gift-shop.[102] Souvenirs such as small pieces of woodcarving, ceramics, weaving and embroidery, as well as beadwork, *pysanky* and bookmarks are displayed here. Embroidery is presented by serviettes, bookmarks, and a framed picture of a flower. The other souvenirs are miniatures. Ceramic miniatures of animals. Miniatures of woven sashes. Even bookmarks are miniatures of Laryssa Cymbaliuk-Cheliadyn's series of paintings "Flowers of the Bible." All the items are compact downsized versions of a "real thing" or the smallest possible variants among the objects of their kind.

Donations will be
appreciated toward
the Museum

Figure 13. UMC-AB: gift shop.

The gift-shop proper is the glass display case just inside behind the door (Figure 13). It also serves as a stand for the guest-book, promotional museum brochures and donations basket. In addition to items advertised outside, the gift-shop also features postcards of *pysanky*, books in Ukrainian or about things Ukrainian, miniature "golden cross" pendants, and other items. Yet, these are the things to be looked at (and, in many cases, to be bought) before you leave.

When you enter, your attention is immediately grabbed by another sort of thing. You are in a small place surrounded by many figures in picturesque costumes. Large display cabinets host several mannequins each (Figure 14 and Figure 15).

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[102] In a way, these three display cases are an introduction of visitors to the museum. They present in miniature all main crafts and arts associated with Ukrainian culture and contained in the museum.

There are two mannequins in the first display case. They are clad in married women's clothes from Bukovyna region (Figure 14). Hanging on the wall, there is a man's costume complete with a sash, a straw hat and a Hutsul axe. Down on a Bukovynian *kylym* (woven rug) there are two carved walking sticks, a woven bag, and three pairs of footwear – Hutsul leather shoes and men's and women's boots.

Figure 14. UMC-AB permanent exhibit: folk clothes of Ukrainian pioneers in Canada. Bukovyna region. The clothing ensemble belonged to mother of William Hawrelak, Edmonton's Major.

Four more cabinets contain peasant women's clothing ensembles (Figure 15). The ensembles are regional variants of clothes, predominantly from Western Ukraine. They are complemented by such items as weaving, footwear, headgear and others, originating in the respective regions.

Various wood-carved items are displayed in a glass case near the northern window. Besides several carved mugs and souvenir toys, there are inlaid boxes, album, dish, smoking pipe, mug, vase, and a miniature barrel. Among the items on the top there are two miniatures: *koloda* (press to extract oil) and s*tupa* (implement to crush seeds) made to scale by John Kelly from Lloydminster, Alberta, in 1980.

Figure 15. UMC-AB permanent exhibit: view to south-east.

The north-east corner is occupied by a wooden cradle. Several hand-made household items are placed inside it. A portable cradle is hanging above. The Paranich family, who donated the cradle, recently supplied a sign with the history of the cradle and of pioneers who made it and used it, complete with dates and photographs.

Next to it, there is a display, which is referred to as "Ukrainian Royalty," contains figures of a man, a woman, and a child dressed in replicas of historic costumes, adorned with furs and golden brocade. High boots are placed in the corner. Other objects on display are a wooden inlayed replica of *bulava* (mace), a sign of *hetman's* (Cossacks' commander-in-chief) power and a contemporary map of Ukraine.

While some of costumed dolls are placed to supplement displays of clothes on mannequins, a display cabinet in south-east corner of the exhibition space is dedicated exclusively to costumed dolls. Twenty dolls are dressed in miniature replicas of regional clothes (typical for peasant, urban, young girls or married women) or replicas of historic clothes.[103]

Figure 16. UMC-AB permanent exhibit: household implements.

The lower part of the cabinet with costumed dolls holds fifteen drawers housing small artefacts such as a large number of *pysanky*, beadwork, ribbons, etc. The drawers serve simultaneously as a storage and a display. A combination of three drawers can be viewed at a time.

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[103] Here, by "historic clothes" I mean clothes that are exhibited to represent either specific prominent individuals or specific periods in the history of Ukraine.

Outer clothing and footwear (mostly men's) are displayed together with several folk musical instruments. Assorted household tools and implements are grouped on the floor at the south end of the display area. They include both handmade and manufactured items intended for farm work, processing food and producing fabric (Figure 16).

The largest display features thirty-three wedding headpieces from various regions of Ukraine made by Yvanna Petrowska in late 1970s. The exhibition concludes with a small display of religious artefacts (Figure 17).

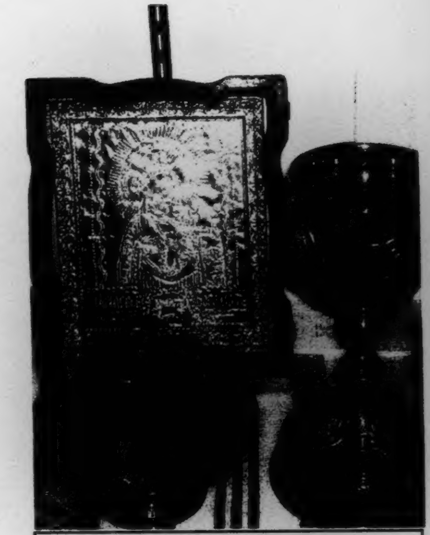

Figure 17. UMC-AB permanent exhibit: a fragment of religious artefacts display.

UCWL, Alberta Eparchy museum

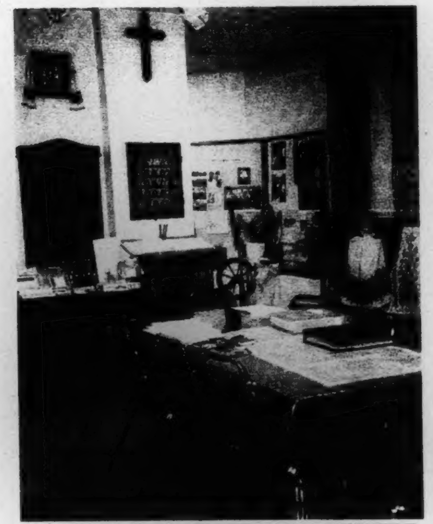

Figure 18. UCWL's museum: guest book and gift shop.

To get to the museum, you first approach the church – St. Josaphat's Cathedral. When I enter the church gate, I always become aware that my grandma would cross herself on entering the sacred space… Here is the basement door. A sign informs that there are *Sadochok* (Ukrainian kindergarten) and Ukrainian Women's League of Canada, Alberta Eparchy museum. Ring twice for the museum. After a moment's silence, the door opens to let out merry sounds of a Ukrainian song – kindergarten singing is in progress. In front of the museum door, on the wall there is a handmade newsletter with photographs reporting the latest museum activities.

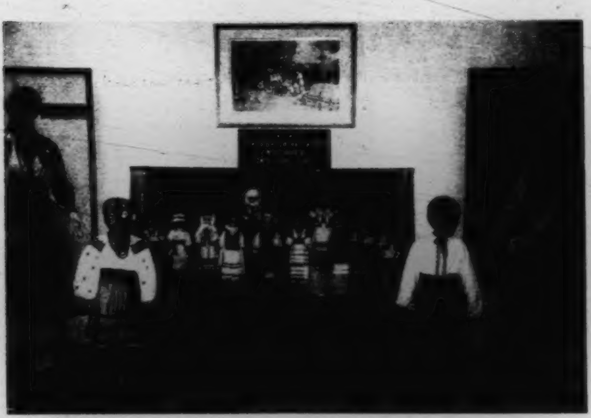

Figure 19. UCWL's museum permanent exhibit: costumed dolls.

When you enter the museum, you find yourself in a room with a variety of things to attract your attention. After recording your name in the guest book in the middle of the room (Figure 14), there is a good chance that you will start your tour in the furthest end where mannequins in folk garments stand. They flank a display of costumed dolls whose miniature attire contributes to the variety of regional representation of Ukrainian costume (Figure 19).

Figure 20. UCWL's museum permanent exhibit: reference library.

To the left, in the corner there is a small but choice reference library featuring books on topics ranging from material and spiritual culture of the Ukrainians to their experiences in Canada to museum management (Figure 20). It also holds the UCWLC eparchial archival materials. The reference literature is often pointed to during guided tours.

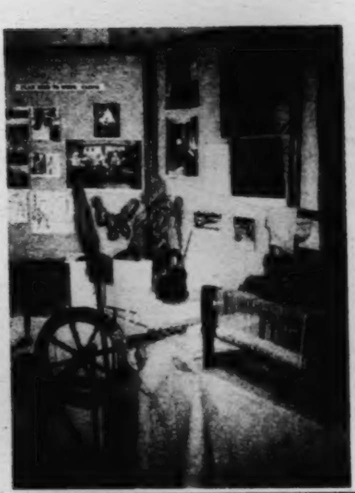

Figure 21. UCWL's museum permanent exhibit: "Flax Seed to Woven Cloth."

To the right, there is an exhibit called "Flax Seed to Woven Cloth" featuring tools and raw materials used for production of cloth as well as illustrations of all the steps of the process (Figure 21).

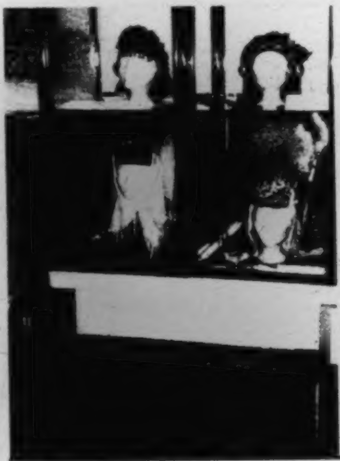

Figure 22. UCWL's museum permanent exhibit: *bavnytsia* (married women's headgear) and bridal headpieces.

Next, the display of woven cloths illustrates different functions they were used to perform: from a ritual towel to headgear of a married woman. Several other types of women's headgear are displayed in an adjoining glass cabinet (Figure 22). Near the south wall of the display room there are two displays cabinets featuring inlaid woodcarved items and ceramics (Figure 23).

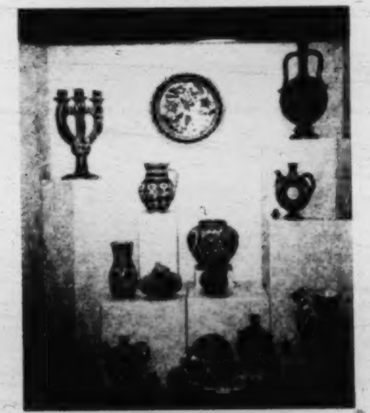

Figure 23. UCWL's museum permanent exhibit: ceramics.

Displays at the west wall are centred around a hanging *kylym* (tapestry). Two homesteaders' sheepskin coats complemented by an explanatory label offer a look at harsh experiences of first Ukrainian settlers on the prairies. Another cabinet displays peasant women's attire. In the middle, an array of beaded necklaces is surrounded by an arrangement of ribbons and sashes.

UCAMA

To enter the museum display room, one has to go up the stairs to the second floor of the building. Before doing so, it is important to record your name in the guest book, or otherwise, do not forget to do it before leaving. The staircase walls are crowded with paintings and photographs. On entering the permanent exhibit room, you find even a more densely appropriated space. Not an inch is wasted. Even a quarter of the exhibit is not possible to be taken in at a glance. A number of chambers are created by cabinets placed in the middle of the room (Figure 25). They are positioned to expose a limited number of display segments and to block the view of the rest of the exhibition, thus focusing visitors' attention.

Figure 24. UCAMA permanent exhibit: eastern isle.

To the left from the entrance, on the wall there are hanging portraits of renowned Ukrainian composers, writers and poets. The greatest Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko, is depicted on seven portraits in different techniques, donated at the time of one of UCAMA's first exhibits.

Directly in front of you, there is a colourful assembly of women's embroidered shirts on mannequins complemented by vests and beaded necklaces. Embroidered towels, women's and men's shirts are placed on the table in front of them. On the wall behind, convex glass of pioneer family portraits glitters in the spotlight (Figure 25).

To the right of the entrance, a display section features weaving implements and supplies with woven and embroidered towels on the background. Moving along the eastern isle (Figure 26), one comes across a section of religious artefacts. Among them is the pride of the collection, a Bible in Church Slavonic dating back to the first half of the eighteenth century. Next are the cases of ceramics and clay pottery. The wall behind them is covered with photographs of various Ukrainian Canadian cultural and political groups.

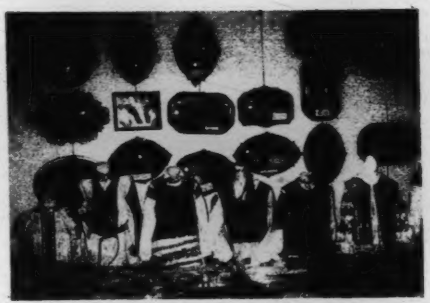

Figure 25. UCAMA permanent exhibit: embroidered clothes and portraits of pioneers.

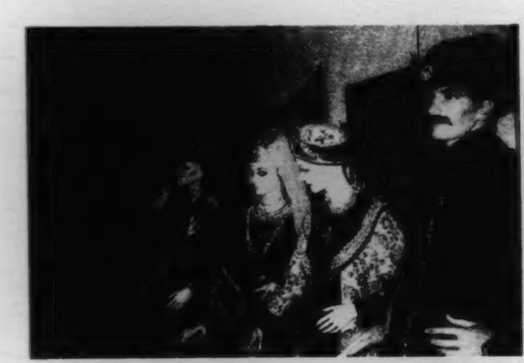

Figure 26. UCAMA permanent exhibit: reproductions of costumes of prominent figures in Ukraine's history.

The military wing of the permanent exhibit is comprised of two segments. One includes uniforms, awards and other items donated by Ukrainians who served in Canadian army. Another contains *Sichovi Striltsi* Ukrainian Army formations uniform, banner, awards, money and other memorabilia related to the period of Ukraine's independence from 1917 to 1920. The theme of national liberation movement of Ukraine is continued in the section across.

Along the southern wall and further along the western wall stands an array of mannequins dressed in reproductions of costumes of prominent figures in the history of Ukraine. They are women of noble origin, from legendary Lybid of the fifth century to eighteenth century Mazepova, a famous Hetman's mother. Figure of Hetman Ivan Mazepa concludes the prominent figures section of display (Figure 27). Next are figures in peasant clothes.

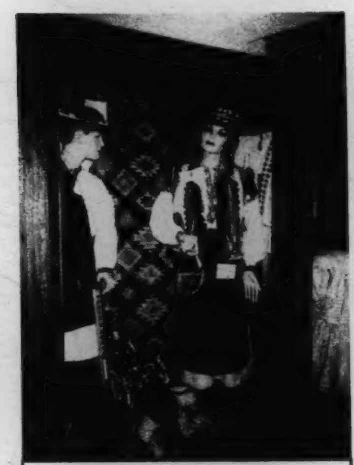

Figure 27. UCAMA permanent exhibit: folk attire from the Hutsul region.

The north-west corner of the exhibition is occupied by a display of commemorative items and memorabilia of prominent Ukrainian Canadians.

Half of the sections created by display cabinets in the middle of the room is dedicated to folk clothes from different regions of Ukraine supplemented by such items characteristic for those regions as tapestries, bags, ceramics or woodwork (Figure 28). Two of these six cabinets contain indications that the clothes exhibited were worn by early Ukrainian settlers on the prairies in Alberta.

Figure 28. UCAMA permanent exhibit: miscellaneous items.

The other half of the sections created by cabinets in the centre present a variety of groups of objects. Among them we find folk musical instruments, inlayed woodwork, *pysanky*, ceramics, miniature sculptures, ritual breads, household implements, costumed dolls, and other miniature items (Figure 27).

Use of Space

The three museums put their limited space into efficient use. Each of the three exhibitions is divided into spatial segments. It is achieved, first of all through the use of furniture. As it was discussed earlier and is seen from the floor plans (Figures 3, 4 and 5), UMC-AB's display area is separated from the rest of the room by display cabinets and prompts conducting guided tours in a circle clockwise with its start and finish at the gift shop cabinet. UCWL's museum, similarly, has parts of its permanent exhibit situated along the walls, thus prompting a circle-like movement for a guided tour. Since the guest book is such an important document for these museums, it makes a natural starting or finishing point of a guided tour in each case. UCAMA, having placed cabinets in the middle and tables (small cabinets) and mannequins along the walls, created two kinds of routes for a guided tour: one in a circle around the room, and another one winding between the cabinets in the middle.

Having incorporated other functional areas into their display spaces, two of the museums directly or indirectly refer to them as a part of their exhibition. Thus, drawers in the UMC-AB and storage room and reference library in the UCWL's museum having their specific functions, are also included into the narrative of a guide during guided tours. Despite the fact that the three museums incorporate their storage into permanent exhibits (with UCAMA displaying most of the artefacts it owns, UMC-AB storage/display drawers and UCWL demonstrating the storage facility during guided tours), it is not what Ellis Burcaw calls "open storage approach." According to Burcaw, an "open storage" exhibit is marked by no organization at all, lack of selectivity, or informational content.[104] As it is clear from the discussion above, and will be demonstrated further, the three museums do not fit this description. Rather, they borrow elements of a museum innovation of the late 1970s, the "visible storage" idea. This kind of idea was put into practice by the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology. Their Open Storage Gallery was designed to function as an exhibit supplementary to the permanent exhibit and to convey the museum's message by utilizing a non-traditional approach.[105]

The museums, having incorporated into their display area other functional areas, achieved an interesting effect. They display not only the collections, but also their museums functioning. They manage to demonstrate in a way what a "small Ukrainian museum in Canada" is. However unintentional it might be, nonetheless, it is nonetheless meaningful. As a part of their displaying Ukrainian culture in Canada they display themselves. For, no doubt, they are a significant part of it.

Yielding to conservation concerns, "glass cases became necessary evils" by the end of 1970s.[106] However, they also procure a special atmosphere of a museum. By placing formerly ordinary objects (of varying value) behind glass, museums elevate them to enshrined treasures.[107]

It is not possible to miss the fact that each of the museums has a large number of mannequins as props for their displays (see mannequins marked on the floor plans in Figures 3, 4 and 5). Life size mannequins, half size mannequins, and dolls representing men, women and children staring directly at you create an almost startling atmosphere of presence of the past. Physically overwhelming, they grasp the spotlight, making folk attire a dominant feature of the permanent exhibits.

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[104] Burcaw 121.
[105] Douglas Elias, "University of British Columbia, Museum of Anthropology," Gazette 10.2 (1977): 58.
[106] Edwards 9.
[107] Lowenthal *Past is a Foreign Country* 271.

As we see, the multi-functional display areas combined with a "visible storage" approach provided the museums with the possibility to display a variety of artefacts and make efficient use of their space. Such organization influenced the representation of Ukrainian heritage by creating a multiplicity of cultural references with the potential of being utilized for the purpose of guided tours.

Use of Collections

The museums differ, first of all, in the percentage of their collections exhibited. UCAMA exhibits 80-85% of its collection, while UMC-AB exhibits approximately 270 artefacts, which equals to 17% of the total collection. An average of 20 artefacts are displayed per each of its twelve display segments (not counting many drawers with small artefacts such as *pysanky*, beadwork, ribbons and other, which combine functions of both display and storage). UCWL exhibits approximately 250 artefacts, which amounts to 15% of the collection, with an average of 15 artefacts per thematic group, ranging from 2 (sheepskin coats) to 59 (*pysanky*).

There are several approaches to classifying permanent exhibits according to the organization of material. Burcaw differentiates between two groups of permanent exhibits: systematic (organized according to similarity of the objects and their "genetic" relationship to each other) and ecological (organized according to area, "habitat," or living relationship to each other).[108] Hall's classification distinguishes between

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[108] Burcaw 116.

taxonometric and thematic strategies.[109] Whereas taxonometric approach agrees with Burcaw's systematic approach, the thematic approach involves telling a story. The museums in question independently developed a strategy that combines all of these approaches. The peculiarity of this strategy lies in the following: instead of subordinating the whole permanent exhibit to one of the approaches, the museums employ "systematic," "ecological," or "thematic" approaches to organize individual segments of their exhibits.

The arrangement of artefacts incited by limitations of space is responsible for the resulting exhibit's effect. Individual items seem never to be displayed separately. Placed compactly, the artefacts on the displays create an atmosphere of density. Coherence is achieved by grouping artefacts into "clusters." In their turn, these clusters are linked together by an underlying message and understanding of purpose, somewhat unique for each museum. Clusters are formed by items of either one kind/genre or different kinds/genres. Clusters dedicated to one genre are demonstrative of "taxonometric" approach, while multiple genre clusters tend to be illustrative of the "ecological" approach.

Examples of "taxonometric" clusters include: either items associated by mode of production – produced by one and the same technique such as clusters of wood-carving, ceramics (Figure 23), embroidery, beadwork, baking in all three museums as well as money, commemorative ribbons, historical

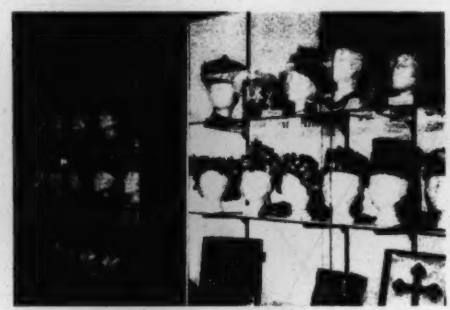

Figure 29. UMC-AB: wedding wreaths.

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[109] M. Hall, *On display* (London: n.p. 1987). [qtd. in Mensch, Ch. 22] 25.

photographs specific for UCAMA; or items associated by mode of use – utilized for one and the same purpose. Thus, there are items to be worn as headgear (Figure 29); to be used around house (wooden household items in UMC-AB); accessories (beadwork and ribbons); souvenirs (with no visibly predominant same-technique group of items).

Ecological clusters are more complex and tend to include a combination of items rendered in different techniques and belonging to different genres. They are assembled to present either region (clothes ensembles complete with footwear, headgear and accessories often supplemented by additional items of clothing, woodcarving, weaving an so on); military gear (clothes/uniform supplemented by accessories, medals/awards, photographs, etc.); liberation movement (clothes/uniform supplemented by awards, flag, money bills, photographs, etc.); prominent persons' memorabilia (personal items of various kind and use supplemented by photos and press clip-outs); religious items (items used as parts of church interior decor or used at church service supplemented by ecclesiastic vestments, items used as part of ritual, e.g. wedding candles, *Vertep* star and religious items used at home, e.g. icons, prayer books, pendant crosses); or other categories. Examples of ecological clusters are seen in Figures 14 and 27, where several extra pairs of footwear, canes, woven rugs, a vest and other items are placed in the display space containing complete ensembles of clothes for that region. Furthermore, individual genres, along with being displayed in their "pure" "taxonometric" form, often incorporate in their displays elements belonging to a different genre. Not adhering to one particular genre has a strong potential of shifting the display's message. Thus, introducing small items of ceramics, *pysanky* and beadwork into a display of "woodwork," shifts its meaning to "souvenirs" or "handicraft items." Another example is much more common. Figure 17 shows religious artefacts placed on an embroidered serviette. It has become customary for many a Ukrainian exhibit to display items placed on an embroidered serviette or towel. This impregnates an exhibited object with an additional symbolic value, underlines its "Ukrainian-ness."

"Thematic clusters" are represented in two of the permanent exhibits (UCWL's museum and UCAMA) by displays illustrating traditional weaving process (Figure 21). These segments of the permanent exhibits contain artefacts (such as implements for all steps of thread and fabric production, raw material, and finished product) and material supporting the story telling[110] (such as photographs, pictures demonstrating the process, and labels).

The use of more complex ecological and thematic clusters as opposed to simpler taxonometric clusters seems to be quite customary and standard practice. Evidently, the latter appear to be less interesting and potent for conveying cultural meanings than a multidimensional mixture of genres. The combination of these segments creates "thick" (i.e. rich in information) material with potential for story telling.

Use of Labels and Interpretation

The signs of exhibits are used to identify, to explain, and to inform.[111] Due to large number of artefacts displayed within a small space in each of the three museums, identifying every artefact by a label is not possible or justifiable. Instead, the museums use labels to highlight certain aspects of the exhibited objects. These are the aspects selected as the most essential to understanding of the permanent exhibits messages.

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[110] Hall 25.

[111] Burcaw 6.

The labels used are mostly bilingual (sometimes only in English) with native Ukrainian terms transliterated and explained.

Some labels are used to identify either the name of the museum object, name of donor,[112] name of maker,[113] name of a former user, place of origin or geographical/ethnographic area the object's style is associated with. The latter is the most frequent kind of label information in UMC-AB and the UCWL's museums. It is also common in UCAMA.

Another group of labels is interpretive. Such labels inform the visitor about the specific artefact's former usage, or treat it as a generic object stating its functions and explaining meaning attached to it. Interpretive labels are not found frequently.

The use of labels reveals two approaches to the exhibited artefacts the context of an exhibit. First, some labels treat the artefact as a specific object described by answering questions such as who made it, where it was made, who used it, or donated it. This kind of information becomes especially meaningful when the names associated with the object renowned in the community. For instance, a Bible used by Bishop Budka, personal items that belonged to the first Ukrainian Canadian MP Michael Luchkovych, items embroidered by Antonia Kucher, a straw hat donated by Bohanecky are all examples of statements rich in information for a person involved in the Ukrainian community in Edmonton.

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[112] Names of donors are most often found in relation to memorabilia objects in UCAMA.

[113] Not many labels contain the maker's name. In the few cases that they do contain names of the object's maker, often these are the recognised names in the community in embroidery, making of ceramics, and so on.

The second tendency is to treat artefacts as generic objects, i.e. as symbols standing for certain concepts. Thus, the label identifies the object as a representative of regional style, mode of use, function as a part of a ritual or weaving process.

Labels help to destroy ambiguity for object's signification is largely determined by context. A museum leaves no choice to a visitor but to accept its judgements and interpretations, because it is the **museum** that is a medium that **defines the meaning** of the object.[114] In order for a visitor to become co-producer and co-creator of the exhibit's meaning, in other words, to obtain a high degree of participation of the visitor, already in 1968 it was suggested by McLuhan to make exhibitions without story line and without labels.[115]

The Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia created in the late 1970s used unlabeled artefacts in its permanent exhibit of Native art as a pedagogical technique "in the fine tradition of Socrates, where the question of significance is posed to the student rather than answered by the teacher." However, anonymity of unlabeled artefacts was criticized for being too big a challenge for general public unfamiliar with native art.[116]

In consideration of the above, the use of labels in the museums studied pinpoints emic orientation of the exhibits, where the artefacts' backgrounds and relationships are known to the visitor. For an outsider, it is the aesthetic aspect of the exhibition that becomes the most prominent, making the rest strongly dependant on an interpretation of a guide.

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[114] Mensch Ch. 22.
[115] Mensch Ch. 22.
[116] Elias 59.

Museum interpretation can be defined as "activities that responsibly explain, and/or display the collection in such personalized manner as to make its background, significance, meaning and qualities appealing and relevant to the various museum publics."[117]

As has been indicated, the meaning of the exhibits relies on explanation of a guide to be revealed. People who are currently in charge of the curatorial duties and as a rule, in charge of conducting guided tours, are the most knowledgeable about the collections. In the course of their involvement with the museums, they have become depositories of knowledge themselves. Their extensive knowledge about the cultural activities related to the Ukrainian museums and their collections in Canada surpasses anything recorded in this respect. It is imperative that this knowledge is not lost. While giving a guided tour, they can provide their visitors with a narrative the most suitable to the interests and level of awareness of this particular audience.

What makes it possible to "adjust" the interpretation of the exhibits to different audiences? It is the combination of spatial segments and thematic clusters with a small number of interpretative labels. The labels are only used for "punctuation" of the exhibits highlighting some aspects of the information about the objects, while the story is related orally. The combination of these factors makes these exhibits not a "closed information-communication system" as most of the exhibits are,[118] but leaves them open to interpretation.

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[117] Dunn 15.

[118] Mensch Ch. 22.

Exhibit material of the three museums offers sufficient illustrations for various facets of "Ukrainian-ness." Early Ukrainian settlers on Canadian prairies are sometimes clearly represented by labelled artefacts. Other artefacts that were used or made by pioneers (but are not marked as such by labels) serve to illustrate the Old Country tradition, or, put in other words, "generic Ukrainian-ness." This second situation mainly applies to clothes and household implements.

Elements of Ukrainian culture from the Old Country, include aspects that did not become productive in Canada. The Old Country is represented by prominent persons' images, prominent persons' costumes, costumes signifying different social layers (peasantry and nobility), as well as ritual items that were not transplanted to Canada but were an important part of the tradition in the Old Country.

Another facet of "Ukrainian-ness" is most clearly observed in UCAMA. Here, the historical aspect of the exhibited artefacts often gains prominence. A hand-made chandelier used in a pioneer church or a Canadian veteran's military uniform, are fairly unique rather than typical objects. They are specific to individual Ukrainians' experiences in Canada. Presentation by the three museums of prominent historical figures of Ukraine is another reference to "generic Ukrainian-ness."

There is one more potential in the exhibits, which is not articulated in the labels. It is a story of cultural activities of Ukrainians in diaspora. Producing ceramics, ritual cloths, costumed dolls, weaving, embroidery, clothes making, *pysanky* writing and many other activities made Ukrainian culture a visible part of multicultural mosaic in Canada. Craft items made by Ukrainians in Displaced persons camps also belong to this category. The museums' collections and exhibits contain many such items but the exhibits' line of interpretation passes them over in silence, giving credit away to less specific all-Ukrainian tradition.

Table 1. Facets of "Ukrainian-ness" characteristic for the permanent exhibits of the three museums.

	UMC-AB	UCWL's museum	UCAMA
Elements of Ukrainian culture and traditions in the old country	Peasant and royalty. Representation of costumes and other items by region (costumed dolls). Wedding headpieces. Religious artefacts. Handicraft items. Souvenirs.	In addition to crafts above, there are items that are did not become productive in Canada and illustrate the old country folk art and material culture: Inlaid woodwork. Ritual/wedding headpieces.	Souvenirs. Regional clothes. Ukrainian poets and writers. Historical figures costumes.
Early experiences of Ukrainian pioneers on Canadian prairies	Household implements. Portable cradle. Sheepskin coats. Clothes (Western Ukraine predominance).	Sheepskin coats with a label explaining the harsh reality of pioneer life. Regional costumes with a label informing that these items were donated by families of pioneers and had been worn in Canada for holidays. Weaving implements and supplies.	A hand-made and a manufactured church chandeliers used in pioneer churches. Bohanecky's straw hat. Clothes. Household implements. Musical instruments.
Expression of cultural activities of Ukrainians in Canada (in Edmonton in particular)	Reproductions of wedding headpieces. Costumed dolls. Miniature replicas. Weaving. Embroidery. *Pysanky*.	Ceramics. Ritual cloths. Weaving. Embroidery. Clothes. *Pysanky*. Costumed dolls.	Ceramics. Ritual cloths. Clothes. *Pysanky*. Costumed dolls. Photographs of dance groups, choirs, etc.[119]

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[119] UCAMA places emphasis not on individual, but organisational involvement in cultural activities.

The permanent exhibits do not emphasize with their labels the three facets of "Ukrainian-ness" as separate distinctive themes, thus presenting "all-Ukrainian" tradition. This generic "Ukrainian-ness" tends to obliterate the distinction between places and time periods, and renders interpretation of Ukrainian culture as timeless, unchanging and shared by all Ukrainians everywhere.

Thus, the museums make use of different types of labels which present artefacts either as concrete or generic objects. At the same time, the labelling is selective and not self-sufficient for it relies heavily on oral interpretation. This approach allows the presentation of the displayed artefacts with the focus on at least three themes: pioneers, Ukrainian culture proper, and expression of cultural activities of Ukrainians in Canada, particularly during the period of ethnic revival. The dense placement of the exhibit material makes the exhibits multidimensional and multifunctional.

Temporary exhibits

An overview of the temporary exhibits held by three museums shows a great dynamism throughout these museums' history until fairly recently. In the five-year period between 1978 and 1982, at least two (and in some cases six) temporary exhibits were organized by each museum almost every year (Figure 31).[120]

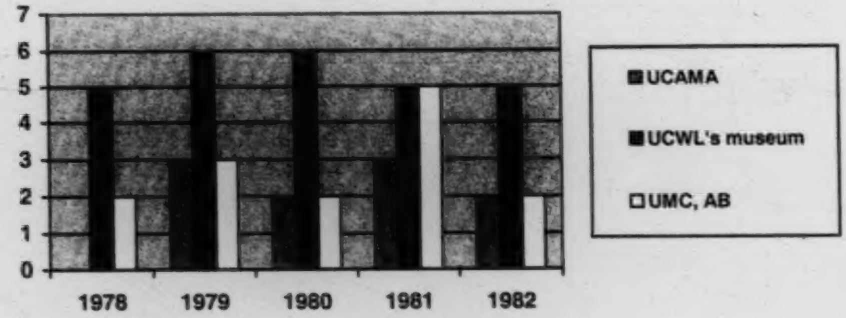

Figure 30. Temporary exhibits held by the museums.

These exhibits took place both on the museum premises[121] and in places such as *Narodny Dim*, Provincial Museums and Archives, or secondary schools throughout Alberta, and thus the museums' work was mobile and more visible. This is especially true for the UCWL museum. Figures below show the ratio of in-house and travelling exhibits held by museums between 1978 and 1982.[122]

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[120] Based on data of Museum Services, Alberta Museums and Related Institutions Data-Base (Edmonton: Alberta Culture, Historic Division, 1986). AMA reports about frequency of short-term exhibitions. Total of 10 (UCAMA), 27 (UCWL's museum), 16 (UWAC's museum) over a period of 1978-1982.

[121] Whenever it was possible. UCAMA held temporary exhibits in the space intended for it in its building, while UMC-AB, rented the nearby hall in St.John's auditorium.

[122] Based on data of Museum Services, Alberta Museums and Related Institutions Data-Base (Edmonton: Alberta Culture, Historic Division, 1986). Alberta Museums Association reports about frequency of short-term exhibitions: total of 10 (UCAMA), 27 (UCWL's museum), 16 (UWAC's museum) over a period of 1978-1982.

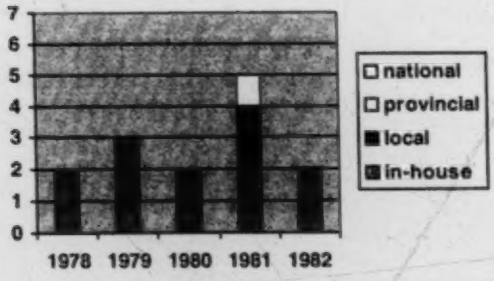

Figure 31. UMC-AB: temporary exhibits.

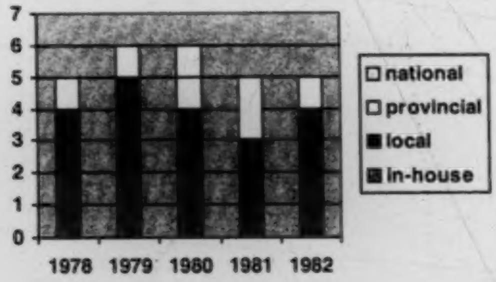

Figure 32. UCWL's museum: temporary exhibits.

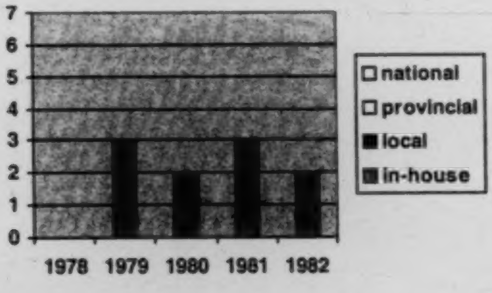

Figure 33. UCAMA: temporary exhibits.

Since location of the venues differed, so did audiences associated with it. Museums had to create exhibits apt to accommodate two different perspectives: one of the general public, and another, aimed at Ukrainians. The difference between the two would be supposedly in the level of interest they take in things Ukrainian. Favourably enough, general public responded with so much admiration to first exhibits of Ukrainian crafts in Canada, that it excited enormous enthusiasm in the Ukrainian community. Arguably, it is due to the temporary exhibits that Ukrainian museums in Canada owe their existence. Temporary exhibits preceded these museums. Long before the collections of UMC and UCWL were created, their first exhibits took place, in 1930 and 1946 correspondingly. It is useful to consider them more closely, for, according to Klymasz, the features of one of the first Ukrainian exhibits in Canada became characteristic for most of the exhibits in the future.[123]

The first Ukrainian exhibit in Canada reportedly took place in February 1914 at the Canadian National Railway's Hotel Fort Gary in Winnipeg as a part of a larger multicultural exhibition. Klymasz highlights its characteristics that have been typical of Ukrainian museological activity up to this time:

> 1. The venue itself, a commercial hotel, suggests that a process of **cultural packaging** and marketing was already in action just under a quarter of a century after Canada's first groups of Ukrainian settlers began arriving in the west in 1891.
> 2. The **temporary** nature of the display in 1914 (only three days' duration) came to characterize most subsequent displays of Ukrainian cultural artefacts across Canada.
> 3. The focus on **handiwork** reflects a bias that favours portable and visually striking folk arts like embroidery and ornamented eggs (*pysanky*) produced by female artisans.
> 4. The display in 1914 positioned Ukrainian culture within a **multicultural context** as only one of many components in the nation's cultural fabric.[124]

Indeed, several decades later similar tendencies could be found in the cases of the first exhibits of organizations that brought about the Ukrainian museums in Edmonton as well as their subsequent short-term exhibits. The table below gives a brief summary of the three events that signal the birth of the museums in question. Their similarities and differences are indicative of the evolution the local Ukrainian community's museological activity underwent.

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[123] Klymasz, "Celebrating" 2-3.
[124] Klymasz, "Celebrating" 2-3.

The temporary nature of the exhibits led to the formation of a certain kind of exhibiting event. First, the displays of Ukrainian craft appeared either as part of a multicultural exhibit, in conjunction with a major event in the life of an organization (such as national convention) or in the life of the ethnic community. Constrained by the lack of own exhibit space and the time frame of the host event, short-term exhibit developed a variety of forms. It can range from a simple in structure (taxonometric) display of crafts to a complex event with a program comprising, besides display, a lecture, demonstrations, dance or other performance, meal, and sale. Some of these components (namely, demonstrations and sale) will be repeated each day throughout the whole duration of the exhibit. Often, among the displayed objects during these short-term exhibits would be baking and other perishable objects that can only be exhibited for a limited time.[125] In cases, when an exhibit occurs as a self-contained event, it is likely that all of these components are present. This type of event, however, quite often differs from the first type by the presence of a topic/theme for a display of museum objects.

While the exhibits of the two women's organizations subscribe to these tendencies, UCAMA's pattern of short-term exhibiting differs in a number of ways. Though the first UCAMA's exhibit was supplementary to its opening ceremony, and the focus of the events was not on the exhibited material, but on the exhibiting agent, it is not typical for its subsequent exhibiting activity. Rather, UCAMA's exhibits have been characterized by the following features: a comparatively extended duration and location of exhibits exclusively within the physical confines of the UCAMA building, directly resulting from ownership of an exhibit space. Consequently, UCAMA's displays never occur as a part of multicultural events. Further, temporary exhibits held by UCAMA differ from those by the women's museums in two major ways. Being full-scale events, UCAMA's exhibits, though, did not include demonstrations, contests, or sales. Most often, topic or a theme of UCAMA's exhibits featured the creative expression of an individual artist rather than collective creative effort of a group.[126]

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[125] "Easter table" and "Christmas table," which appeared at the first UCWLC's exhibit have become popular display components for short-term exhibits.

Table 2. The characteristics of the first exhibits.

Organizers	UWAC	UCWL, Exhibition committee of the Provincial Executive	UCAMA
Date	1930, August 1, 2, and 3	1946, April 6 and 7	1974, October 27
Duration	3 days	2 days	-
Location	Mohyla Institute, Saskatoon[127]	Community Hall, Edmonton	UCAMA building, Edmonton
Audience	Non-Ukrainians and Ukrainians	Non-Ukrainians including high-ranking government officials and Ukrainians, including from farms in Alberta	Non-Ukrainians and Ukrainians including high-ranking government officials
Supplementary to a particular event	UWAC convention	No	Opening of UCAMA

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[126] For instance, among the nine events UCAMA held in 1975, seven were "authored" exhibits: church paintings by Iwanets, ceramics by Iwanusiw and *pysanky* by Talanchuk, embroidery and fabrics by Melnychuk and Yopyk, paintings by Krychewska-Rosandich, Kyryliuk, Bodnar, and photographs by Ochota. The other two events were a lecture and an exhibit dedicated to Shevchenko. "Ukrainian News" No. 18, 36, 38, 48, 1975.

[127] This particular exhibit was the exhibit organized by UWAC, which led to founding its museum network. Though it is referred to as "the first exhibit" in the sources on the history of this organization because of its scale and significance for the future museum development, the same sources also mention a number of smaller exhibits over the period from 1928 to 1930, where UWAC displayed Ukrainian craft items both under the auspices of the Canadian Handicraft Guild and on its own for the benefit of its branches. For further reference, see Kohuska, *Twenty-Five Years* 61-2.

Function	Demonstration of Ukrainian cultural achievements. Demonstration of how traditional embroidery can be applied for decoration of a modern household.[128]	Demonstration of Ukrainian cultural achievements.	Demonstration of Ukrainian cultural and socio-political achievements in Canada.
Use of collections	No	No	Yes
Origin of artefacts	Brought to Canada by pioneers, Made in Canada, Sent to Canada by a Lviv cooperative "Ukrainian folk art"	Brought to Canada by pioneers, Made in Canada	Made or published in Canada
Ownership of artefacts	Borrowed	Borrowed	UCAMA
Types of artefacts	Handicrafts (with stress on embroidery, weaving, woodwork), Clothes, Ceramics, *Pysanky*	Handicrafts (with stress on embroidery, weaving, woodwork), Clothes, Baking, Ritual and religious items *Pysanky*	Newspapers, Memoirs of Michael Luchkovych (former MP), Photos of pioneers, and choral and drama groups, Commemorative items, old Bible[129]
Theme/genre	Mixed	Mixed	Mixed
Exhibit identified as	"an exhibition of Ukrainian handicraft"[130]	"handicraft exhibit"[131]	-
Reaction of the press	"lovely Ukrainian handicraft"[132]	"words cannot describe the beauty…"[133] "Triumph of Ukrainian Art"[134]	-

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[128] Anastasia Ruryk, "Viddil Soiuzu Ukrainok Kanady: Zvit litnioho z'izdu Coiuzu ukrainok Kanady v Saskatuni [Branch of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada: Report from the summer convention of the UWAC]," Ukrainian Voice 40 1930: 11.

[129] Based on the description from Brian Tucker "Museum of Ukrainian Culture Opens Doors" *Edmonton Journal* 28 Oct. 1974: n.p.

[130] The statement refers to a similar but smaller exhibit, which was organized for the provincial convention of UWAC and took place in Edmonton later that year. See "Ukrainian Women Hear Premier in Convention Talk" *Edmonton Journal* 26 Dec. 1930: 10.

[131] "Ukrainian C.W.L.Exhibit, Tea Opened by Mrs. E.C. Manning," *Edmonton Journal* 6 Apr. 1946: 15.

Individual artist/maker presented	No	Yes (not exclusive)	No
Sale	Yes	Yes	No
Programme	Contest of embroidery	Opening addresses Concert, Dance group performance, Tea	Opening addresses, Parade of Norwood Legion veterans, Singing group performance, Banquet
Demonstration of techniques	Weaving, Embroidery, *Pysanky* writing	Weaving, *Pysanky* writing	No

The forms of short-term exhibiting events that the museums developed were so appropriate to the needs and goals of the museums and the community, that these organizational forms became persistent. What made them fit the goals of the museums? Different components such as demonstration, sale, contest, performance and/or meal are the building blocks picked and chosen to complement a display in a complex whole of a temporary exhibit.

Sale is a regular feature of most (if not all) temporary exhibits organized by the two women's organizations. It is commonly perceived, primarily as a means of fundraising: if "Women's *pyrohy* built churches,"[135] then women's handicraft built museums. Since the initial stages of Ukrainian exhibiting in Canada, its success translated into the beginnings of commercial demand for Ukrainian items among the non-Ukrainian public.[136] After each new exhibit, orders were placed for embroidery and *pysanky*, as well

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[132] The statement refers to a similar but smaller exhibit, which was organized for the provincial convention of UWAC and took place in Edmonton later that year. "Ukrainian Women Hear Premier in Convention Talk" 10.

[133] "Ukrainian C.W.L.Exhibit, Tea Opened by Mrs. E.C. Manning" 15.

[134] I.I., "*Triumf Ukrainskoho mystetstva* [Triumph of Ukrainian art]," *Ukrainian News* 16 Apr. 1946: 3.

[135] Maria Shkambara, head of SFUZHO, unpublished comment.

[136] Kohuska *Twenty-Five Years* 61-2.

as Easter breads,[137] which not accidentally were the same kinds of items that have grown to represent Ukrainian material culture in Canada. Satisfying the demand of admiring public in masterfully executed "visually striking" pieces of folk arts and crafts, besides providing support to the women's organizations, worked towards popularizing the Ukrainian culture in Canada.

Demonstrations and contests (described in the Sub-chapter "Extension") as well as musical or dance performance and meal, besides providing an additional attraction to the event, create a special atmosphere, recreate to some extent the cultural environment associated by Ukrainians with their culture. A communal meal, for instance, is traditionally a necessary attribute of any important event in the life of a group strongly associated with the Ukrainian women's customary role. The mentioned components also serve to further popularize of the ethnic culture in multicultural context by demonstrating the skill, educating about the process, and motivating to get involved.

What is the function reserved for display in this kind of an exhibiting event? Temporary exhibits hardly ever have a story-line as such. However, they are not purely decorative even though the aesthetic aspect of display plays a great role. Being appealing to audiences insures interest in the exhibit. The audience is always both insiders and outsiders. Although many exhibits are intended to cater to the needs of Ukrainian community, they practically never become confined to it. To the contrary, the larger society's appreciation is welcomed and paid heed to by the Ukrainian museums to the point that it has an effect on the way they function. In this respect Klymasz remarks that the exhibits were "formulated for the titillation of outsiders" with the beauty of the

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[137] Kohuska, *Twenty-Five Years* 62 and Kohuska, *Half-Century* 213.

Ukrainian craft.[138] The brief history of the UWAC contains evidence that Ukrainian embroidery was greatly appreciated and marvelled at by an English majority for its aesthetic appeal. The aesthetic appeal caused a demand for Ukrainian embroidery and resulted in proliferation of its production. It also made it a dominant Ukrainian craft in Canada. But most significantly, the aesthetic appeal of Ukrainian craft works as an incentive for insiders. The beauty serves to "bolster ethnic pride,"[139] makes insiders willing to be associated with the exhibited material culture – ethnic culture – and thus with an ethnic group.

Due to the temporary nature of the exhibits, their short duration, and often being a supplement to other events, the story line is neither feasible nor justified. Especially, when an exhibit is an event in itself, exhibited objects are put into their social and cultural context by a speech given on a topic related to the exhibited museum objects. The labels and speeches often include – at least in the last few decades - reference to various regional styles the object represent, their symbolic meaning and usage. Thus, function of lecture is to provide context, to inform and to inspire, and role left to display is to provide a visual image, an illustration of the idea expressed by a speech, a tangible evidence of the Ukrainian-ness of the event.

To sum up, several other tendencies could be highlighted in addition to those delineated by Klymasz that also became characteristic for future exhibits. One of the tendencies concerns involvement of the Ukrainian community – beyond being a receptor of museums' exhibiting, the community has evolved to become a partaker of museum work. Members of the community, firstly, are the source of museum objects. Secondly, by their participation in courses, they signalled their interest in this or that aspect of Ukrainian culture (not only crafts, - baking, customs, etc.), which gained prominence as material to be exhibited; the general public as well had an impact on exhibited culture by showing its interest. Thirdly, having donated objects to museums, the public wanted to see them exhibited. Letters of donors to newspaper publications related to museum activities show donor's pride of depositing their personal possessions into the "Treasury of the People." This influenced the exhibiting practices of the museums. As a matter of fact, when the first exhibits were taking place, and there was no museum as such, the exhibited objects were borrowed from the community members. This practice never stopped, for even today, whenever museums lack objects to complete an exhibit (for Heritage Days, or other events), they turn for help to private collectors. When the collecting for the museums started, they held exhibits of the newly collected objects as a method of reporting about the museum's accomplishments, which also encouraged further collecting.

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[138] Klymasz "Celebrating" 3.

[139] Klymasz "Celebrating" 3.

Another tendency characteristic for the short-term exhibits of at least two of the discussed museums is that they are rarely limited to exhibiting objects but are complemented by performance (either demonstrations of craft techniques, singing or dancing) which takes place, besides the day of the exhibit opening, for the whole duration of the exhibit.

Functions that the temporary exhibits perform are as follows: making museums visible, museums' outreach to their audiences; demonstrating cultural achievements of Ukrainians; acquainting outsiders and the younger generation with Ukrainian culture; educating outsiders and insiders about Ukrainian culture; fundraising; making an account of the organizations' activity and later, of museum growth, in other words, demonstrating sustainable development of the local Ukrainian museological activities;

decorating – introducing an aesthetic element into the community events.

Extension: Courses and Other Activities

A working definition of "Extension" given by Dunn is "interpretive and educational activities that take place outside the physical confines of the museum."[140] Extension activities use a wide variety of media, from teaching kits, television, films, books to traveling exhibits. These all are ways to reach out to people, to extend the museum's influence outward.[141] The UCWL's museum and UMC-AB devote a great deal of energy to extension activities. The forms of extension activities are similar for these museums and besides the above-mentioned media, they also include competitions, fashion shows, demonstrations, special projects, courses and workshops.[142]

Competitions were often part of larger events, and were accompanied, as a rule, by an exhibit of competing items complemented by a display of work of a renowned master in the field. A variation of such an exhibit could be a modeled fashion show if the competing items were clothes. Competitions were held for best embroidery, *pysanky* writing, and contemporary dress with adapted traditional embroidery. The UCWL even had a trophy cup to be awarded to the winner.

Figure 34. Folk costumes fashion show in Vegreville organized by UMC in November 1970. Courtesy of UMC-AB.

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[140] Dunn 15.
[141] Edwards 10-11.
[142] Kohuska, *Twenty-Five Years* and Kohuska, *Half-Century*; Kunda, Cyncar, Seniw, personal interviews; Holinaty, personal interview, 17 October 2003; annual reports of UWAC's and UCWL's museum committees.

Fashion shows proved to be very popular.[143] Fashion shows were the modeled presentations of either self-made contemporary clothes with adapted traditional embroidery, which started in 1950, or museum artefacts. On several occasions, a fashion show of privately owned traditional clothes was organized, with some of the presented items being donated to a museum afterwards. There were also modeled shows of historical costumes. These latter resulted from special projects, when women studied clothes from different periods of Ukraine's history by reproducing them.

Demonstrations were actual performances of techniques in weaving, embroidery, *pysanky* writing, beadwork, etc. They became a natural component of almost every temporary exhibit or cultural event organized by the museums. Moreover, since the 1960s demonstrations became part of larger community events and were held in city's parks and shopping centres, - starting with *pysanky* writing demonstrations at EXPO-67 to annual participation in the Edmonton Heritage Days Festival.

Courses and workshops were frequent and encompassed practically all the areas of Ukrainian material culture educating students (women-members of the organizations, their children and the general public) craft techniques, their history and significance of folk art symbolism. Courses and workshops deserve a separate study due to the large scope and implications of these activities. They cultivated knowledge of Ukrainian crafts among the members and helped to bring up their children with an awareness of Ukrainian culture.[144]

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[143] Seniw, interview.

[144] UMC-AB was not an organizer of these activities from the formal point of view, since there were other committees of UWAC, such as the Cultural Educational Committee, the Arts and Crafts Committee, the Mother's Committee and so on. However, activists involved in these committees were often the same people who were active in the museum, and it was their enthusiasm, knowledge and vision that sustained particular committees and the organization in general.

These extension activities were aimed at educating the public but they also fulfilled a normative function. Inviting the masters of their craft to give demonstrations, and exhibiting achievements of the most skilled at competitions and fashion shows, the museums were setting standard of skill for others to strive for. Was it an education in the sense of being "systematic instruction, within a specified time period, in subject areas related to the collection, the results of which are capable of being measured"?[145] Perhaps it was. If only one could measure people's personal experience with their heritage. For their participation made their inherited culture a living culture.

Figure 35. Ukrainian pavilion at the Heritage Days Festival in Hawrelak Park, Edmonton.

A peculiar form of extension for two of the museums in question is their participation in the Heritage Days Festival of multiculturalism in Edmonton. Their devoted presence appears not as much to serve the promotion of these museums, but rather to disseminate of knowledge about Ukrainian culture, to annually renew Edmonton's awareness of things Ukrainian.

Heritage Days

UWAC and UCWL annually take part in the Heritage Days in Edmonton, a three-day event where about 50 ethnic communities attract Edmontonians to their pavilions. Among the main attractions are displays, souvenir sales, ethnic food, and music and dance performances.[146] The museums of UWAC and UCWL remain a permanent constituent, or rather a backbone, of their pavilion to represent Ukrainian community in this celebration of multiculturalism.

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[145] Dunn 14.

UWAC and UCWL occupy the opposite sides of the pavilion, UWAC is on the right, UCWL is on the left. An outside observer would hardly be aware of the fact that the two opposite sides of the pavilion are occupied by two different women's organizations. Both groups feel like one. It becomes evident when one listens to the way they speak about winning first prizes among the other pavilions of the Heritage Festival for many consecutive years. They share their Ukrainian pride.

The Ukrainian pavilion like other pavilions, is run by volunteers. There is a "core" of volunteers who stay from the opening until the closing time all three days of the Heritage Festival. They are all "museum people." Their museums are an integral part of their lives. Apparently, that is the reason people in the community come to consult with them as experts in things Ukrainian. Questions of visitors were concerned with different areas, which encompassed a whole range of the museums' competence. There were questions about Ukrainian food: "How to cook *studenets*?" There were questions about Ukrainian crafts: "I want to renew my weaving skills, where can I buy a loom?" In addition, there were questions about dance costumes and folk clothes: "Our son has just joined a dance group, where can I buy an embroidered shirt for a seven-year-old boy?" and "How come there are so many varieties of folk clothes in Ukraine?" I had a feeling that these visitors knew that they were coming to the right place to ask their questions.

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[146] An event similar in type and scale in Canada, Folklorama, is held annually in Manitoba. It became a subject of the University of Manitoba anthropologists' scholarly attention. For further reference, see Cynthia Thoroski and Pauline Greenhill, "Putting a Price on Culture: Ethnic Organizations, Volunteers and the Marketing of Multicultural Festivals," *Ethnologies* 1 (2001): 189-209.

And, indeed, they have received their answers, complete with details. The man who had inquired about how to cook *studenets* left after half an hour of discussion with three detailed recipes. The woman who had wanted to buy a loom was referred to the Weaver's Guild and received a brief survey of loom varieties. The parents of the young dancer were lucky to talk to one of Edmonton's experts in Ukrainian embroidery and would not wait long to get a nice little shirt for him. The girl who was curious about the variety of folk clothes was lectured on the historical and cultural peculiarities of the traditional way of life in old Ukraine that brought about the distinctive features of regional costume types. The women were helpful to their visitors providing them with answers and referring them to the Weavers' Guild, the Ukrainian Bookstore, stores selling Ukrainian food, and such, that is serving as a link between the community and its members.

It is rarely that an event, in which "museum people" participate goes without a demonstration of a craft. Visitors are given an opportunity to observe traditional techniques and even to try and acquire some of the skills themselves. For a demonstration of weaving, there would be a mini-loom at each side of the pavilion, where Ann Emsky and Elizabeth Holinaty would be surrounded by visitors at all times.

Displaying cultural items in the pavilion is a challenge. Museums cannot bring their artefacts to the pavilion because of considerations for their preservation and safety. Despite that, the Ukrainian pavilion has yearly managed to present colourful displays of folk costumes, weaving, embroidery, *pysanky* and so on. These objects were lent by private collectors.

Another educational feature of the Ukrainian pavilion is a map of Ukraine, which enjoys much popularity. The map had visitors (and quite a crowd it was now and then) bent over it looking for the places their ancestors had come form or the places they had visited themselves. Quite often, the visitors had difficulty finding the place of their ancestors' origin. The attention to Ukraine's geography seems to be consistent with the emphasis on the representation of various regions of Ukraine (ethnographic regions especially) in the museums' collections and exhibiting practices (Sub-chapter "Region Bias").

As we see, the described activities extended the traditional role of the museums making them an active force in the local Ukrainian community. These activities were aimed at sustaining traditional crafts, setting standards for artistry, as well as legitimizing the ethnic culture through its aesthetic appeal and distinctiveness of its products, and raising awareness of Ukrainian culture among the general public. The Ukrainian women's museums' participation in the Heritage Days Festival, where they represented Ukrainian heritage, is an example of the latter.

Chapter 2. Shaping the Heritage

> Every act of recognition alters survivals from the past.
>
> David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*[147]

In this chapter, I attempt to demonstrate that the museums serve as both a tool for shaping and a mirror of the heritage by Ukrainian immigrants. Shaping the heritage is possible because tradition is not something static, it is being constructed and reconstructed while people evaluate their past and find priorities in their present, have dreams about their future. When the museums were conceived, they were supposed to help Ukrainian Canadians be proud of their Ukrainian past; to feel worthy, equal and confident in the midst of their fellow Canadians; to insure that their deeds are not forgotten, that their children continue to take pride in their heritage, and that there is no cultural gap between them and their children. In order to accommodate this vision, the museums were supposed to supply evidence of the glorious past, a role model for popularizing the Ukrainian culture in the present, and the tool to preserve it for the future.

The second chapter – "Shaping the Heritage" – is about the construction of culture as a product seen in the museums. This product is Ukrainian material culture seen through the eyes of different generations of Ukrainian settlers in Canada and/or their descendants. Despite the fact that nowadays any well-informed Ukrainian has an understanding of what "things Ukrainian" are, and a community's understanding of Ukrainian-ness is in general shared by its members, it does not mean that this view was always held unchanged. For instance, many Ukrainian girls born to Ukrainian farmer families in the 1920s and 1930s believed that Ukrainian embroidery is cross-stitch and were not aware of any other stitching techniques.[148] Only having got involved into the activities organized by the growing women's movement, they learned about the multiplicity of stitches and techniques originating in different regions of Ukraine.[149] Ukrainian material culture is not something unchangeable/rigid or objective even despite its tangible nature. On the one hand, it is subject to change in the course of its historic development due to the varying character of transmission of skill and knowledge as well as advance of technology (in Ukraine throughout its history and in Canada).[150] It has existed in numerous variations, diachronically – due to evolution in the course of its history, and synchronically – due to the multiplicity of regional variants and other factors (social status, religious, gender, etc.).[151] Thus, material culture, as any other part of traditional culture viewed as collective heritage, is subjective and fluid in nature and "changes in response to our needs."[152] On the other hand, in order to use it as a point of reference, (e.g. refer to it as "roots"), to be able to preserve, to educate the young and the outsiders, one has to define what it is like, to set some boundaries.

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[147] Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country* 263.

Neither the Ukrainian community in Canada nor the Ukrainian museums in question had to deal with this task completely on their own. They could rely on the trends founded by Ukrainian romantic nationalists at the end of the 19th century and their further developments.

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[148] It was an earlier national movement that popularized cross-stitch and obliterated most of the stitches that existed in the traditional culture of Ukraine and the culture of Ukrainian Canadians.

[149] Emsky, personal interview, 16 Oct. 2003.

[150] Robert A. Georges, and Michael Owen Jones, *Folkloristics: An Introduction* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1995) 59-89.

[151] Georges and Jones, *Folkloristics* 127-55.

[152] Lowenthal *Heritage Crusade* 250.

These small Canadian museums encountered specific circumstances that challenged them to look at their culture from outside and in this way influenced their views on it. They had to think about the fate of vanishing remnants of the culture brought to Canada by Ukrainian pioneers, to struggle with prejudices against their different culture, which was often called derogatively "low" culture. To show it as equal and a source of pride, they had to find a way to bring up their children as full-fledged Canadian citizens and nationally spirited Ukrainians. The resources they had to fulfill this mission were limited. They included disappearing material witnesses-vestiges of the traditional Old Country culture; limited access to Soviet Ukraine, whose cultural resources, in the view of many immigrants, were threatened by extinction. Last but not least, their resources included enormous enthusiasm of what turned to a mass movement in Canada in the third quarter of the 20th century.

To shape the heritage, the museums had to select elements from the past that would best epitomize the values sought after. The task demanded establishing boundaries in terms of space, time and sphere of influence.

Region Bias

Regional variants of Ukrainian material culture stand out as a distinct feature of the museums' collections and exhibits. Regional variants of clothes, *pysanky*, headpieces and other items constitute a significant part of the permanent exhibits in the three museums (Figures 14, 20, 29). As a rule, they are identified as such in the course of guided tours.

It has been noted earlier (Chapter I: "Use of Labels and Interpretation") that one of the most common labels in the museums' permanent exhibits is the kind of label containing Ukrainian place-names. What are the function and the meaning of the place-names used? A place-name on a label does not always denote the place of creation of an object. In a number of cases, museum objects were made in locations outside of Ukraine (see Figures 37, 38, 39). Usually in these cases, the place of creation is not identified on labels whenever the objects are exhibited. Apparently, this kind of information is not relevant to the message the exhibited objects are intended to carry. First and foremost, the label containing a place-name serves to communicate the particular local tradition/style the object represents. Thus, a "Hutsulian doll," despite being costumed in Edmonton, presents an image of attire typical for an ethnographic region of Ukraine called Hutsulshchyna (Figure 36).[153]

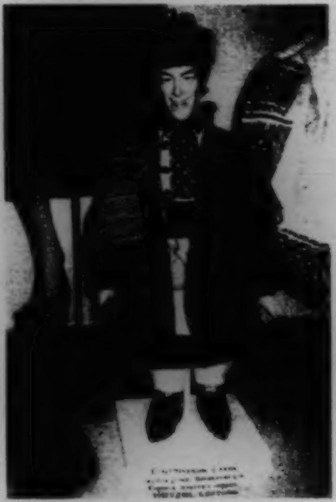

Figure 36. Doll in Hutsul costume.

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[153] For the group of artefacts identified with an asterix, the country of their creation is not identified in the collection catalogues. Instead, only the region of origin is identified. It means, that some of these artefacts

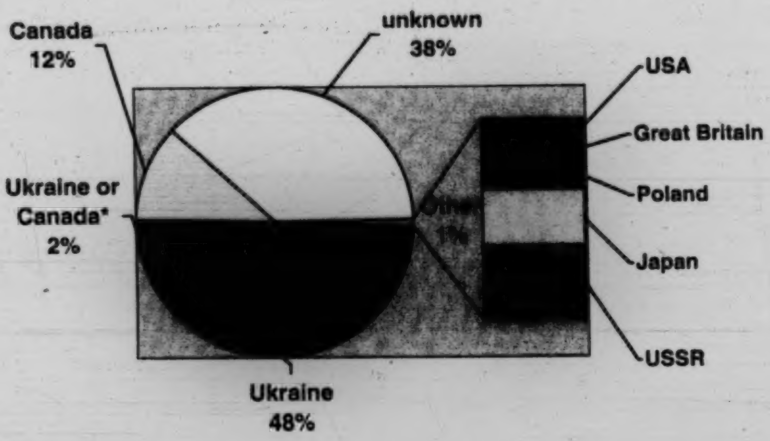

Figure 37. UMC-AB: distribution of museum objects according to their country of creation.

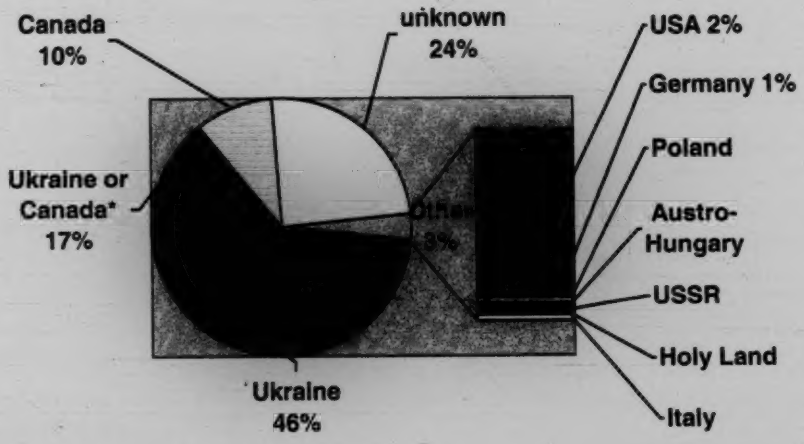

Figure 38. UCWL's museum: distribution of museum objects according to their country of creation.

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could be made locally but fashioned to represent ethnographic regions of Ukraine. This is especially true in case of *pysanky*, embroidery samplers and costume dolls, i.e. items that constitute the largest part of the share titled here "Ukraine or Canada."

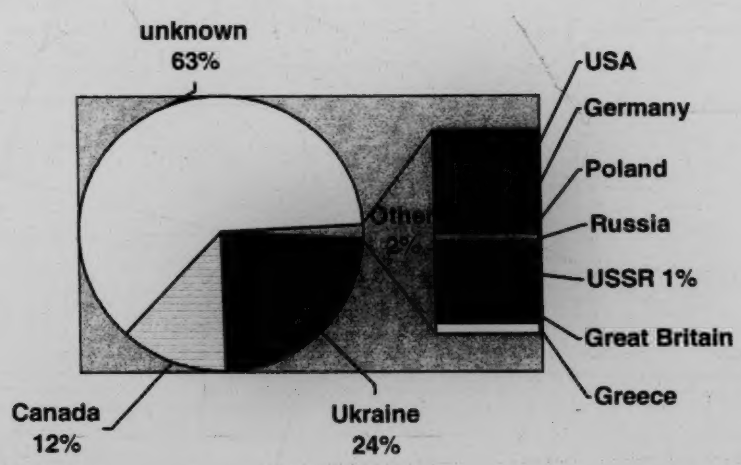

Figure 39. UCAMA: distribution of museum objects according to their country of creation.

The majority of artefacts in the three museums, however, appear to have been made in Ukraine. In these cases, place-names on exhibition labels can sometimes specify the exact location of creation, usually a village. This specific information rarely occurs alone, but is usually accompanied by further reference to the ethnographic region it is found in.

References to ethnographic regions deserve to be looked at more closely. The regions of origin of the artefacts are not evenly distributed across Ukraine. The chart below (Figure 40) shows the ratio of artefacts of known origin that have origin in Western Ukraine to artefacts originating elsewhere in Ukraine.

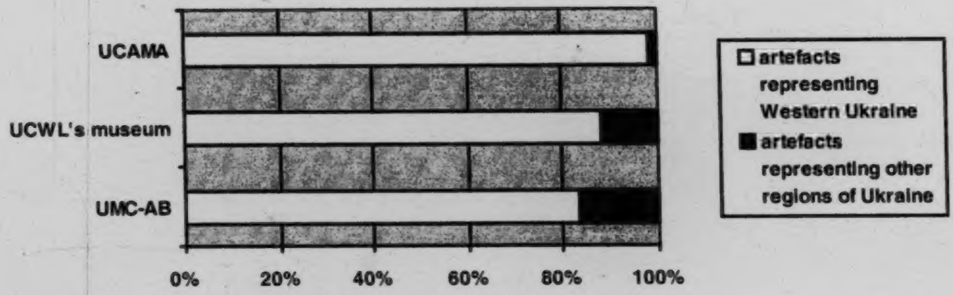

Figure 40. Distribution of artefacts according to region they represent.[154]

The chart demonstrates a clear disproportion in the regional representation. Items from Western Ukraine dominate the collections. Regions other than those in Western Ukraine presented in the collections are represented mainly by items from Poltava and Kyiv. In a few other cases, objects are identified as coming from rather broad areas of central or eastern Ukraine.[155] By contrast, western Ukrainian regions are not limited to a few locations but have wide representation with a concentration on the south-western area. This concentration is manifested not only in larger number of artefacts from the area, but also in the notably larger number of place-names used. Western Ukraine is, using a metaphor, "zoomed in" to display the whole multiplicity of small villages and towns as well as major regional centres. As a result, the museums differentiate between a great number of ethnographic areas in Ukraine with small ethnographic regions from

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[154] This chart is based on the fields in the museum catalogues that record "region of origin" or "region of creation." Note that UMC-AB uses both of these fields, the first one of which means the representation of a certain regional style by the object, which can be created either in that very region, or elsewhere, including Canada. Since the catalogues are not always consistent in their records on the matter of differentiating between the two concepts, this chart generally demonstrates the representation of regional styles rather than the places of creation of objects.

[155] UMC-AB has more items from regions other than those in western Ukraine mainly due to relatively recent acquisition efforts of Chester Kuc. Kuc was the Museum Board President in 1980s and established links with Ukraine, which allowed for exporting Ukrainian material culture items from central Ukraine.

Western Ukraine appearing on exhibits alongside large ones from Western, Central and Eastern Ukraine.

Ethnographic scholarly sources recently published in Ukraine also identify smaller distinct regions in Western Ukraine than those in Eastern Ukraine because of history of settlement and migration over several centuries. Though Ukrainian ethnographers do not agree on a single system of division on ethnographic regions,[156] the three museums differ very little in their biases regarding this matter. The exhibits contain practically nothing from southern Ukraine, a few objects from targeted certain parts of central and eastern Ukraine, and heavily detailed western regional representation. According to their collection catalogues, the museums agree on use of their terminology concerning the ethnographic regions. Thus, Western Ukraine comprises Volyn, Podillia, Pokuttia, Subcarpathia, Hutsulshchyna, Boikivshchyna, Lemkivshchyna, Transcarpathia, Bukovyna and Halychyna (also called Galicia), as well as smaller localities such as Sokalshchyna, Yavorivshchyna, and Pidliashia.

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[156] Kyrchiv distinguishes between three major ethnographic regions: East-Central (South-Eastern), Northern (Polissia) and Western (South-Western), which are divided into sub-regions called historical-ethnographic regions. Thus, within the Western region there are Volyn, Podillia, Pokuttia, Opillia, Subcarpathia, Carpathian zone (comprised of Hutsulshchyna, Boikivshchyna and Lemkivshchyna), Transcarpathia and Bukovyna. East-Central region consists of Middle Podniprovia, Slobozhanshchyna and the South. Northern region is divided into Right-Bank Polissia and Left-Bank Polissia. The sub-regions mentioned each consist of a large number of localities (in Ukrainian – *mistsevosti*), named according to towns in their centre. (See R. F. Kyrchiv, "Etnichna istoria Ukrainy," *Ukrains'ke narodoznavstvo*, ed. S. P. Pavliuk et al. (L'viv: Fenix, 1994) 46-78). According to Naulko, Ukraine has six zones containing the following ethnographic regions: Polissia and Volyn, Carpathia and Subcarpathia, Podillia, Slobozhanshchyna and Poltavschyna, Middle Naddnipranshchyna, and South. The further subdivision is not specified. (See V.I. Naulko, "Istoryko-etnohrafichne raionuvannia Ukrainy ta etnohrafichni hrupy ukrains'koho narodu," *Kul'tura i pobut naselennia Ukrainy*, ed. V. I. Naulko et al. (Kyiv: Lybid', 1991) 22-6.). Ponomariov sees the following hierarchy of ethnographic regions in Ukraine: historical-ethnographic areas (*oblasti*) or super-regions consist of historical-ethnographic regions (*regiony*), each consisting of historical zones that could serve as a basis for formation of ethnographic districts (*rayony*). Ponomariov differentiates between Podillia, Halychyna, Subcarpathian Rus and Northern Bukovyna (with zones: Carpathean or mountainous, Seret-Pruth or sub-mountainous, Pruth-Dnister or plain), Pokuttia, Volyn, Polissia super-region, Sivershchyna, Middle Naddnipranshchyna, Hetmanshchyna, Slobozanshchyna, and South super-region (Bessarabia, Tavria, Lower Naddnipranshchyna and Donshchyna). (See Ponomariov 129-45).

The heavy representation from western Ukraine is largely due to two interrelated factors. First, it is a question of availability. The collections were formed on basis of items brought to Canada by immigrants from East Galicia and Northern Bukovyna prior to 1914, being at the time provinces of Austro-Hungarian Empire populated by Ukrainians.[157] Second, it is due to the fact that descendants of those pioneers visiting these museums identify with smaller localities through their personal experiences. Many know names of villages and towns from family histories, some visited them during their "homecoming."[158] Meanwhile, it is also necessary to mark larger ethnographic regions, to place personal identification/experience within the context of Ukrainian culture as a whole.

Interest in acquiring items of non-western Ukrainian origin existed since the beginning of the museums' existence. It is evidenced by the fact that despite practically exclusive western Ukrainian content of the three museums in the initial stage of their development, the first non-western Ukrainian items appear in their collections as early as in 1953 (UMC-AB and UCWL) and in 1976 (UCAMA).

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[157] This first wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada has a powerful influence on the composition of the three collections. Unlike representatives of the subsequent waves, first immigrants were still actively using objects of the traditional Ukrainian culture. On their arrival, they soon adopted the urban Western style of dress and stopped producing and using many kinds of objects of traditional material culture, but the survivals of the things brought by them to Canada became the core of the Ukrainian museums collections here. The second wave of the interwar immigration came from approximately the same regions as the first wave, with the addition of Volyn and Western Polissia. If any number items of traditional Ukrainian culture was brought to Canada by the second wave, they do not represent a significant share of the collections. The contribution of the third wave to museum collections differs from that of the first and the second waves, among other things, in representation of regions. The third wave, coming from many regions of Ukraine, being often urban and nationalist-minded, brought objects representing "*narodne mystetstvo*" (national art). They included textiles, embroidered items, woodwork, ceramics and other crafts and tended to represent variety of regional styles as well as a mandatory presence of objects from central Ukraine, associated with national symbols.

[158] While isolated cases of "homecoming," or visiting the places of origin, took place since the beginning of the Ukrainian immigration to Canada, many more visits took place after the fall of the "Iron curtain" between the West and the Soviet Union in the 1980s, and subsequently, after declaration of Ukraine's independence in 1991.

In UMC-AB the collection had an exclusive western-Ukrainian content until 1953 when a shirt, an apron and a vest originating in Poltavshchyna were registered. Several items representing central and eastern Ukraine, most of them from Poltavschyna, were gradually introduced into the collection throughout the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. However, for just a little more than a decade in 1980s and early 1990s the museum registered 73% of all non-western items in its possession.

In the UCWL's museum catalogue there was registered one towel representing Poltava in 1953, in 1954 – wereta (cloth) from Kharkiv, in 1955 – a shirt from eastern Ukraine, 1957 – shirt from Konotop. While during the first few years of the museum existence (approximately from 1953 to 1960) there were registered less than 10 items representing central and eastern Ukraine, during the 1960s there were already 42 items, and the number more than doubled by the end of the 1970s (47 more items). Most of the rest of items originating in central and eastern Ukraine appeared in the 1990s (9 items).

There was also the presence of non-western Ukrainian origin almost from the beginning of the UCAMA existence. Three Kyiv region runners were registered in 1976. It is difficult to talk about any trends in this collection since the region is not identified in the majority of cases.

The interest in acquiring items of non-western Ukrainian origin resulted from the vision of the museum founders, which in turn, was nurtured by romanticism of the 19th century national movement brought over to Canada with the immigrant intelligentsia. The spirit of this movement was spread with performances of Natalka Poltavka at *Narodni Domy* on Canadian prairies since the beginning of the 20th century, and furthered by establishment of Ukrainian dance schools by Avramenko, and other related factors.

These cultural activities carrying strong message of national consciousness also carried references to material culture, folk attire in particular, of Ukraine's "national heartland" – Poltava and Kyiv areas. These areas, similarly to what they were to the formation of the national language, served as the foundation for creation of Ukrainian national costume.[159] Embroidery activities and dance groups also helped to sustain this interest in Central Ukrainian artefacts throughout the history of the museums in Edmonton. Just as the Ukrainian Women's Association embroidery activities have served as a crucial factor in exciting interest in things Ukrainian, a new boost came with embroidery classes introducing a Poltavian technique called *vyrizuvannia* – openwork.[160] The foundation of two Edmonton-based Ukrainian dance ensembles Shumka and Cheremosh, which were under the pressure from museum activists to use only "correctly executed central Ukrainian costumes"[161] for their performances, further attracted attention to this matter. The expertise was provided by the museums. UCWL had a workshop in order to show members of the League how to correctly sew a Ukrainian costume for their children's dance performances.[162] This was not an isolated occurrence of museums catering to need of their community and simultaneously popularizing knowledge about Ukrainian culture. One of the reasons for organizing the first of these museums was to be able to preserve the purity of regional costume[163] within the paradigm of Ukrainian national clothes.

How do clothes of someone's great grandmother come to be seen as a "Costume from Borshchiv region"? Once in a museum setting, clothes are no longer just clothes.

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[159] L. Burachynska, "Clothing and Footwear," *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, ed. Volodymyr Kubijovyc (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1963. i.) 310.

[160] Seniw, Emsky, unpublished comments.

[161] Olga Fedak, "*Ne robit' prykrykh pomylok: IAk maie vyhliadaty pravyl'nyi narodnyi odiah*? [Do not make mistakes: How should the correct national costume look?]" *Ukrainian News* 22 June 1967: 8.

[162] Cyncar, interview.

[163] Kohuska *Twenty-Five Years* 69-70.

They are a costume, which means that they belong to an ensemble of items to be matched in a certain way determined by tradition. Having become a museum object, an item begins to be seen from the point of view of how it fits into the whole as presented by a particular museum. As a result, an object often loses part of its identity - its unique life, small details that make it different. Simultaneously, another part of its identity – the one that speaks about other objects of a similar kind – takes over. A museum object is a symbol that stands for a certain aspect of culture, history, or whatever the museum chooses to present.

That is why the three museums employ the same symbols as a means of fulfilling their goals. The way these symbols are being handled can be expressed in a formula that museums use to convey their message. The museums' exhibits always have two elements. First, it is a strong representation of Western Ukraine through a variety of its authentic regional costumes. Second, there is always a presence of national costume standing for the whole of Ukraine and almost always presented in a form of a costume doll. The message being sent is "Ukrainian culture is rich and full of variety."

Time Bias

The desirability of old age in objects has long been one of the key factors adding value to objects in the museum world.[164] The three museums, too, take pride in their ancient culture and preserve the material evidence of it. The desire to underline ancient roots by the museums is most evident in their permanent exhibits, where one can hardly ever find a date on a label that refers to the period later than the beginning of the twentieth century. Along with emphasizing the oldness of origin of Ukrainian culture, the exhibits tend to blur boundaries within its history. The discussion below explores the significance of time as an aspect of documentary value of the museum objects on several levels. A discussion focusing on how time influences the appreciation of physical properties of an artefact will be followed by a discussion of how the time factor influences the functional significance of an artefact in the museum context.

Generally, the desirability of old age is associated with increasing aesthetic value due to the appearance of aging, or patina.[165] The appearance of aging in objects creates an "aura" that makes them appreciated for the reasons other than their physical integrity. These reasons can be the pride in old cultural "roots," appreciation of masterful craftsmanship, or rarity of the artefact.

In spite of this overall trend, for textiles and *pysanky*, which together constitute the absolute majority in the collections, physical traces of deterioration are generally viewed as undesirable. An effort is taken to restore the artefacts, to return them to the original state. Women operating the museums themselves serve as the restorers.[166] Textiles are cleaned, mended, missing fasteners and ties are added, fraying ends are hemmed to make the artefacts aesthetically appealing and ready to be exhibited.[167] There has been a perception that objects can be truly appreciated only when they are freed of any damage and their unsoiled beauty is revealed:

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[164] Lowenthal *Past is a Foreign Country* 242.
[165] Lowenthal *Past is a Foreign Country* 242.

> At that time [...] Ukrainian embroidery or textile was viewed in Canada as something redundant – brought from the Old country, and being good for nothing here. Yet it was a "precious diamond," lost in dust on the road. A person walking by found it, removed the dust from it, cleaned it, and put it on a prominent place to be seen. And the world marvelled at its brilliance and beauty. Our handicraft was this kind of marvel.[168]

If the physical appearance of old age was not considered aesthetically appealing by the museums, how can we explain the recurring words "*starynni vyshyvky*"[169] (old embroidery), "*stari rechi*" [170] (old things), "*davni druky ta pamiatkovi rechi*"[171] (old prints and keepsakes) in their calls to collect artefacts? Evidently, the special significance of old age of objects is connected to the prestige of representing an old/ancient culture, which is articulated in the following statement: "We must make sure that in our museum we collect so many items, and such items, that they would give complete evidence of ancient and high culture of the Ukrainian people."[172] The metaphor of the "diamond" used in the citation earlier to mean Ukrainian handicraft, or more generally, Ukrainian culture, contains in it a meaning of timelessness, that is something existing from the times of yore, and being all the better for it. A review of the first UCWL's exhibit started with an exultant praise to the exhibited material culture making clear the connection between its highly developed artistic qualities and their long-standing tradition: "Only the gentle soul of the Ukrainian people could gather these colors [in embroidery] into wonderful designs and only the enduring and patient, diligent and hardworking hand of the Ukrainian woman could perfect them in the course of many centuries."[173] Hence the quest for roots, the search for authenticity and the reverence to original.

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[166] This was true for all the three museums for the most part of their history, including UCAMA, which has been mainly operated by men. Stephania Yopyk, the wife of UCAMA's founder, was the first restorer in that museum (See Yopyk, *UCAMA* 54.). At present UCAMA plans employing the services of professional restorers.

[167] Personal communications, records in the museum catalogues.

[168] Kohuska *Twenty-Five Years* 61. [My translation: VH].

[169] Kohuska *Half-Century* 506.

[170] Pavlykovska, "*Zbyraimo muzeini rechi*" 3.

[171] Hryhoriy Yopyk, "*Zbirka davnikh drukiv ta pam'iatkovykh rechei,*" *Ukrainian News* 21 1970:8.

Authenticity

The concept of authenticity is one of the values of a museum object as document, and refers to "the degree to which the object can be seen as the genuine product of the genius of the original maker."[174] Within the museum context "authentic" is usually opposed to "substitute" (either false of genuine) and is thought to have relative character, because "an object is always authentic only within a relational statement and in regard of determined conditions, that means it is always to consider what the authenticity refers to."[175] The issue of authenticity was raised by the museums already at the period of their conception, and their treatment of this concept appeared to have been of great consequence for their collections. The two quotes below discuss the difference between an original and a copy as well as their desirability as potential museum objects:

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[172] Iryna Butsmaniuk, "*Chy potribno nam muzeiu* [Do we need a museum?]," *Katolytska aktsiia* Apr.-May 1953: 3. [My translation: VH].

[173] I.I. "*Triumf*" 3. [My translation: VH].

[174] Mensch Ch. 16.

[175] K. Schreiner, "Basic paper," *Collecting today for tomorrow*, ed. V. Sofka, ICOFOM Study Series 6 (Stockholm: 1984): 25-6. [qtd. in Mensch Ch.16].

> The museum must consist, first of all, of objects of *narodne mystetstvo* (literally: people's art),[176] that is items made in Ukrainian lands and brought here. For instance, a rug, *kylym* or shirt handmade in the Ukrainian lands and brought to Canada prove that culture of the Ukrainian people is ancient and high. They are so to say *oryhinal'ni* (literally: original) things. However, a blouse sewn in Germany or Canada with embroidery copied beautifully and accurately from a shirt made in the Old country is valuable and serves as a good example of handiwork but can not be regarded as proper folk art. That is why we should collect objects brought from the Old country even if they are old and damaged, because they are going to be the core artefacts for our museum. However, we are also going to collect items made here in Canada, but these objects must be truly artistic.[177]
>
> For our museum we need objects of ***narodne mystetstvo***. We tend to equate objects of **applied art** with objects of *narodne mystetstvo*. However, applied art objects are handmade objects with Ukrainian motives applied. They have artistic value, but it is connected, in the first place, to them being handmade and an example of creative work. However, the **priority for the museum collecting is original *narodna tvorchist'*** (literally: people's creativity). For instance, a linen shirt handmade and hand embroidered in this or that village, say, the village of Nyrkiw in Zalischyky *povit* to be used by a woman by the name of

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[176] The Ukrainian terms "*narodne mystetstvo*" and "*narodna tvorchist'*," which can be literally translated as "the people's art" and mean "folk art" in English, are rarely translated so or used by Ukrainian Canadians, except for in scholarly context. Instead, the term "national art" is commonly used.

[177] Irene Butsmaniuk, "*Zbyraimo rechi do muzeiu*! [Let's collect objects for the museum!]" *Ukrainian News* 16 March 1953: 4. [my translation: VH].

Maria – is a museum artefact. Conversely, a blouse sewn today after the same pattern for Mrs. N. N. here in Edmonton to be her personal clothes, - is applied art, which is valuable for handicraft (*ruchne mystetstvo*) collections but not for the folk art (*narodna tvorchist'*) museum."[178]

The citations identify the following important issues pertaining to authenticity:

1) they distinguish between two objects with similar structural and semantic properties, one of which is an original, and the other is a copy;

2) original and copy have different kinds of value, which makes one of them desirable as a museum object without any condition, while the other one being fit as a museum object only on the condition of having superior artistic properties;

3) original is identified by being a) made in the Old Country, b) handmade, c) old.

Without using the term "authentic," the authors establish the degree of authenticity acceptable for a museum object. Thus, the highest degree of authenticity belongs to an original, while copies can vary in their degree of authenticity depending on their artistic properties.

Do the other two museums share UCWL's approach to authenticity? All three museums acknowledged importance of preserving authenticity of Ukrainian culture in their reports to Alberta Museums Association (AMA). They rated "authenticity-preservation" as second (UCWL's museum and UCAMA) and fourth (UMC-AB) among the eight possible choices in the section "Hierarchy of roles/functions according to their importance to the museums."[179] UCAMA did not specify in its written calls for collecting artefacts what properties they should have to be fit for the museum. Overall, the issue of preserving authentic expressions of folk genius by depositing them in the museum has been central to the whole enterprise of UCAMA, especially because of these expressions being perceived as endangered with extinction due to the "Communist threat" in Ukraine.

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[178] Pavlykovska, "Zbyraimo muzeini rechi [Let's collect museum objects]" 3. [original emphasis; my translation: VH].

UMC-AB approached this matter somewhat differently from UCWL. Since the beginning of the UWAC's museum activities, with their primary goal of raising awareness about Ukrainian folk art and crafts,[180] the emphasis was on spreading them through learning to imitate/replicate them. Hence, for UWAC, reproductions are not excluded from *narodne mystetstvo*, as long as they are *pravdyvi* (real, authentic) and preserve *nezasmicheni* (pure, genuine) structural and semantic properties. This position was largely due to their policy of encouraging the development of traditional Ukrainian crafts in Canada, which had been threatened by the spread of influences foreign to them. To fight these influences, UWAC "proclaimed war" on false combinations of color, techniques and patterns in order to preserve the genuine beauty of the Ukrainian folk embroidery.[181]

The collection statistics demonstrate how these approaches influenced the resulting composition of the collections. In accordance with thus formulated guidelines for collecting authentic objects, which determine a museum object as: 1) preferably an original handmade in the Old Country prior to or during the first wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, or 2) possibly a Canadian-made contemporary reproduction of high artistic quality faithfully preserving the structural and semantic properties of the original – all three collections are largely composed of Ukrainian-made objects (Canadian-made objects constitute 12%, 10% and 12% in UMC-AB, UCWL's museum, and UCAMA respectively) (Cf. Figures 31, 32, 33). There is a large number of objects in each of the museums, for which the place of production and the time of production are not known (see charts below). However, there is a common understanding among the workers of at least two of the museums that they are likely to be made in Ukraine early in the 20th century or even before that.

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[179] "Alberta Museums and Related Institutions Data-Base," comp. Museum Services, Edmonton: Alberta Culture, Historical Resources, 1986. Also see Appendix B.

[180] Mary Tkachuk, "The Ukrainian Museum of Canada of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada: Historical Highlights - 1927-1977," trans. Mary Kishchuk, *A Half-Century of Service to the Community: An outline History of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada 1926-1976*, ed. Natalia Kohuska (Edmonton: Trident Press, 1986) 973.

[181] Kohuska *Twenty-Five Years* 62.

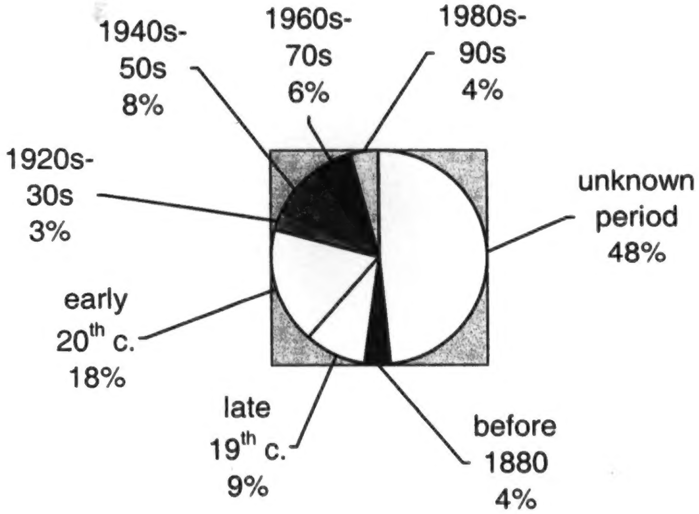

Figure 41. UMC-AB: artefact distribution according to the time of production.

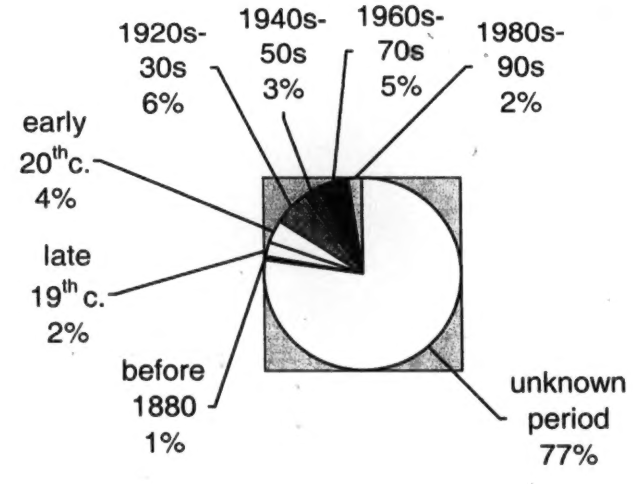

Figure 42. UCWL's museum: artefact distribution according to the time of production.

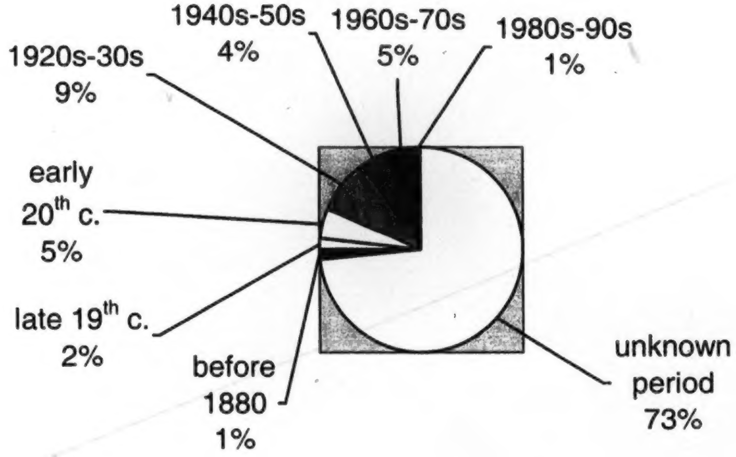

Figure 43. UCAMA: artefact distribution according to the time of production.

Various expressions of artistic individual genius, known as fine arts became collected by UMC-AB, the UCWL's museum and UCAMA during the time of ethnic revival. UCAMA's temporary exhibits were dedicated to this kind of objects more often than to any other. Fine arts objects are not proper "folk art," but the Ukrainian term "*narodne mystetstvo*" (literally: people's art) seems to be flexible enough to include them, as it was done in the case of translation for the history of the UMC, where "*narodne mystetstvo*" was translated as "fine and decorative arts and crafts."[182]

Reproductions

Retaining authenticity is not limited to preserving original as the physical object. To illustrate that "the concept of conservation [...] goes far beyond the acts of material preservation on which Western societies concentrate their efforts," Lowenthal cites the example of the great Ise Shinto temple in Japan:

> [It is] dismantled every twenty years and replaced by a faithful replica built of similar materials exactly as before. Physical continuity signifies less to the Japanese than perpetuating the techniques and rituals of re-creation; craftsmen trained in the old skills are themselves designated 'Living National Treasures' – prized exemplars of cultural heritage.[183]

The idea of dismantling or otherwise purposefully destroying an object having cultural significance is foreign to the museums in questions. The museum workers tell stories about the unmerciful treatment of objects that are now thought to be pioneer treasures at the time when they were condemned as obsolete.

However, there is something that the Ukrainian museums and the Japanese have in common. For UWAC and UCWL, too, retaining the skills for production of traditional objects was thought as necessary a part of sustaining the culture as collecting survivals from the past.

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[182] Tkachuk 977.

[183] Lowenthal *Past is a Foreign Country* 384-5.

Reproductions are "new" objects a propos their "structural identity." They are made of new materials, often using new tools. However, to make them, "old" skills, techniques, designs, patterns, and colors are employed. Over the years, the two women's organizations have coordinated a variety of educational activities (described in the Sub-Chapter "The Extension") to teach these skills, and regularly published materials regulating the proper use of designs, patterns and colors. These women's organizations realized that only through making Ukrainian crafts relevant to the everyday life of their contemporaries could they insure their continuity. Powered by the women's movement (described in the Sub-Chapter "Gender Bias"), involvement in learning traditional crafts became a form of fashion. Thus, Ukrainian homemakers from the 1930s to 1980s learned to embroider to decorate their homes and to make dancing costumes for their children. They were encouraged to make an adaptation of traditional embroidery to their contemporary dresses.[184] Contests and fashion shows held by UMC-AB and UCWL's museum awarded prizes for the best embroidery, published pictures of the winners in the newspapers, and accepted selected items to the museum collections. For Elaine Harasymiw, like for many other women, involved with the museums, a genuine appreciation of Ukrainian art and culture is best expressed in the desire to reproduce it. They want to see a museum that promotes the practice of re-creating objects, and insures the continuity of the living culture.[185]

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[184] Ukrainian embroidery designs regularly appeared in the Women's Page of the *Ukrainian Voice* weekly newspaper, in the magazines *Zhinochyi Svit* and *Promin.* These periodicals, and magazines *Zhinocha Dolia* and *Nova Khata,* published in Ukraine and subscribed by Ukrainian Canadian women, were also the source of information on adaptation of Ukrainian embroidery to the contemporary home decorations as well as Ukrainian culinary recipes, *pysanky* writing, and a variety of other issues pertaining to Ukrainian culture and traditions.

[185] Harasymiw, personal interview, 15 October 2003.

Other reproductions were not made with the intent to further the development of the crafts, but were often commissioned for the museums to serve as a substitute for originals. They were necessary to fill in the gaps in the presentation of the culture by filling blanks left by the unavailability of certain originals. Many museums produce copies to substitute for precious or unavailable originals. This practice is pursued to protect the originals or to develop clearer exhibits, rather than to deceive viewers as is the case with "forgeries."

Already at the beginning of the museum collecting activities, UCWL called for reproductions of fragile objects, such as *pysanky* and pottery.[186] UCWL's museum was proud to commission samplers of embroidery stitches from Antonia Kucher, whose skills and knowledge of the variety of traditional Ukrainian embroidery were second to none.[187] Similarly, UMC-AB commissioned a replica of a Poltava towel from a master-embroiderer Ann Emsky at the time when a towel from that region was a much desired rarity.[188]

Another group of reproductions-substitutes found in all three museums is objects representing certain instances in the history of Ukraine, thus serving as references to the past. Unlike some museums in Ukraine, Ukrainian museums in Canada do not own objects from the distant past. The reproductions of ancient Trypillian pottery, Princely attire of Kyivan Rus, the Hetman Republic garments and other similar objects help to extend the representation of Ukrainian culture farther into the past. These objects are not "old" proper, but they serve to complete the missing pieces of old roots in the story of an ancient culture with a glorious history. In this way, the museums can interpret for their visitors a deeper sense of history important for Ukrainian identity and the sense of historical belonging.

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[186] Pavlykovska, "Zbyraimo muzeini rechi [Let's collect museum objects]" 3.
[187] Kunda, personal interview.
[188] Seniw, personal interview.

Many of the reproductions-substitutes in the museums are miniatures. The museums have miniature replicas of traditional buildings, farming machinery, weaving tools, and others. The compact form of these reproductions makes their physical presence possible in the museums. Costumed dolls, quite prominent in the museum displays, can also be included in this group. They, more than any other miniature replicas epitomize what Klymasz called "cultural packaging."[189]

There is a type of museum objects in all three museums, that are neither originals as understood by the museums' founders, nor reproductions. It is national costumes. These objects stand for a generic style of clothes representative of the nation. National costumes are loosely based on central Ukrainian regional attire, but are often reproduced with generalized and simplified features. Being themselves a comparatively recent construct, the origin of which dates back no further than the second half of the nineteenth century, they have become a quintessence of timelessness in the Ukrainian national consciousness. The national costumes made in

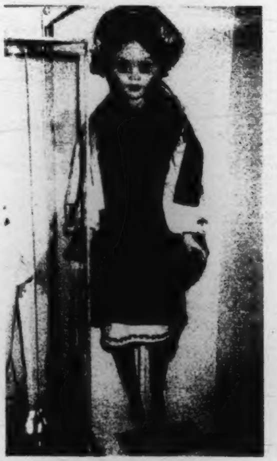

Figure 44. Costumed doll in national costume.

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[189] Klymasz "Celebrating" 2.

Canada mainly appear in two forms: as dancing costumes (Figure 19)[190] and as costumed dolls (Figure 44).

Timelessness of Ukrainian culture is the message induced throughout the permanent exhibits of the three museums. Whereas the collections have potential to present various aspects of Ukrainian culture in terms of their creation timeframe, exhibits explicitly manifest the tendency of the museums to obliterate time boundaries of the culture defined. The museums de-emphasize time boundaries by blending various facets of "Ukrainian-ness" in their permanent exhibits (see Sub-Chapter "The Use of Labels and Interpretation"). Based on the delineated facets of "Ukrainian-ness" and their *actual* historical time frames we can establish the four historical layers for the permanent exhibit material:

1) traditional culture (approximately second part of the 19th century, Ukraine);
2) pioneer experience (turn of the 20th century, Canada);
3) historical figures (with references to different periods in the history of Ukraine and history of Ukrainians in Canada);
4) revivalist activities of Ukrainians in diaspora (1920s to 1970s, Canada, and 1940s, Displaced Persons' camps in Germany, Austria, Italy, Great Britain).

Overall, as it has been discussed in Sub-Chapter "The Use of Labels and Interpretation," the above-delineated groups in all the three museums blend into each other. Blurring of the time categories is made possible by the immediate context of the permanent exhibits, where objects carrying a reference to different temporal planes of the

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[190] The mannequins representing children in Figure 19 are dressed in Ukrainian national costumes. These clothes were made during the course intended to teach women to sew Ukrainian national dancing costumes for their children.

Ukrainian history are placed side by side. It is noteworthy that the labels of the permanent exhibits practically never contain recent dates. In all the three museums, the dates acknowledged by the labels belong to the oldest artefacts. Thus, UCAMA acknowledges the date of its oldest artefact, a Bible published in the early 18th century. Alternatively, the dates acknowledged by the labels belong to the reproductions-references to the temporally distant fragments of the history of Ukraine. Thus, UMC-AB places costume dolls depicting dress of Princess Anna Yaroslavna of the 11th century and noble women of the 12th century among costume dolls depicting girl's and women's regional costumes from the late 19th century Polissia, Borshchiv, Bukovyna and a dozen other regions. UCAMA, too, gives dates on the labels to its array of costume reproductions of prominent women in the history of Ukraine, from the 5th century to the 18th century. They do not announce the date of creation of the objects (which is usually between the 1940s and the 1970s) but, instead, state the reference to the furthermost points in history. Lowenthal claims that it is a universal attribute of heritage to be "origin-obsessed."[191] The resulting effect is creation of a temporally indefinite plane extended far back in time through fragmented references to the distant past.

The desire to present Ukrainian culture as a timeless culture with ancient roots accounts for the tendency of Ukrainian Canadian museums to avoid exhibiting cultural change. Ukrainian museums in Canada have been criticized for this bias.[192] The story below exemplifies the potential for acknowledging cultural change as well as attempts at explaining the reason why the museums in question tend to avoid doing it.

A sash, hand-woven at the end of the nineteenth century in a Ukrainian village, was brought by a family of Ukrainian pioneer settlers to the Alberta prairies at the

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[191] Lowenthal *Heritage Crusade* 145.
[192] Cumbo 17, Prestupa 7.

> beginning of the twentieth century. Soon it stopped being used and was forgotten hidden for decades in *baba*'s trunk on a farm. In the 1980s in Edmonton, two elderly sisters came into a possession of it, excited that they could share dear memories about their beloved grandmother by taking home something to remember her by. The sash was cut in half. Each of the two halves of the sash was proudly exhibited in their homes until they decided that it was time to pass the sash on, to be preserved for the future. A museum gladly welcomed the two new acquisitions. The museum workers will make the sash ready to be displayed – but only after the two parts will be sewn together.

The story above identifies at least three stages in the history of one object. These stages are defined by the meaning this object was endowed with by its users or owners. The sash was created to serve as an article of festive clothing. This intended usage became obsolete with the change of cultural environment. Another change of cultural environment was a factor in the way this particular object of folk art became associated with pride in one's roots. Ethnic culture revival helped extend a link between an inherited material object and one's ancestors further to an individual tie with the history and culture of one's people. The popular state of mind was not particularly unfavourable to physical division of a valued object into several parts, once it made the owners partakers of the common heritage. Having become a museum artefact, the sash was bestowed with yet another meaning. Being a good example of folk artisanship, the sash was pursued as a desirable acquisition, however in need of proper restoration. Physical damage incurred by an artefact during its pre-museum life was viewed unequivocally as loss of value. The physical integrity of an artefact is an asset for the museum because the museum is interested primarily in its "structural identity." What concerns its "functional identity," its main aspect appears here to be the artefact's aesthetic properties – which suffer loss with change to its integrity. This way, with restoring the object to its original state, its "functional identity" suffers loss of information about the history and meanings that was gained through damage.[193] However, it gains back its "authenticity," which is the key to fulfilling these museums' goals of preserving the culture.

The formula for exhibiting in terms of time contains a core of old objects – originals, complemented by reproductions-substitutes of various kinds referring to the past, thus carrying a message of timelessness of an ancient culture. Temporary exhibits, through displaying contemporary objects, including fine arts objects, convey a message of relevance of this old culture to the present, of it being alive.

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[193] See Peter van Mensch's model of information structure in objects, distinguishing between an object's structural, functional and contextual identities. Mensch Ch. 12.

Gender Bias

A cursory look at the permanent exhibits of the three museums leaves an impression of dominating female presence. It is remarkable that it is true for all three museums, though each of the museums has its peculiarities in this respect. The impression of female dominance is due to the fact that most of the physical space of the exhibits is occupied by human-size mannequins, the majority of which are dressed in women's clothes.

As we shall see, the museums in question are characterized by a prominence of "women's artefacts," associated with women's sphere, made by women, or cared for by women. This establishes a model for a Ukrainian museum in Canada in presentation of Ukrainian culture. Further, the museums themselves are, first and foremost, women's enterprises that reflect changing role of women within the Ukrainian community. It is a form of public activity, a statement, a way of intellectual and artistic expression. UCAMA, as a museum operated by a body other than a women's organization, constitutes a special case while using some of the same strategies.

Gender perspective is adopted in this paper as a research tool in order to better interpret and elucidate the nature of collections and museum activities. This approach is based on a premise that women's and men's attributes and roles are culture specific. They are encoded in products of a culture, such as objects or behaviour, and are indicative of cultural meanings as well as the processes that these meanings undergo. These meanings are often implicit, i.e. for the actual participants they may remain subconscious. The way the collections and the exhibits are composed is induced by cultural meanings, traditional ways to look at things related to the ethnic culture as well as the changed outlook, influenced by Canadian socio-cultural environment.

Hence, the gender of unmarked artefacts can be derived from the culture-specific information inherent to these objects due to associations existing between them and their gender within the traditional culture.[194] These associations arise from functional relationships of these objects with their users, makers and/or custodians, given that objects can be attributed to either gender depending on whether they were made by, intended for, used by, or taken care of by men or women.[195] The museum catalogues often contain indirect information about gender attributed to items in such sections as "Description", "History" or "Usage", and "Native Name of Specimen."[196]

We start examining the distribution of gender with clothes, firstly, because clothes are the largest single group of artefacts in each of the three museums (Figures 9, 10, 11), and, secondly, because gender of clothes is the most evident, since it is customarily to determine gender of traditional Ukrainian clothes by association with their users.[197] Many items of Ukrainian folk clothing are gender specific, i.e. they were normally worn by a representative of either sex, as, for instance, skirts were associated with women only and pants were associated with men. The gender of wearer of these items is manifest in their names. Other items, such as shirts or belts, were worn by both men and women but were different in their appearance. For example, women's shirts were more adorned through use of embroidery, and, sometimes, sequins and beads, while men's shirts never had beads or sequins and had little embroidery if any on their sleeves, collar, and sometimes chest area. There is a kind of items, however, which is genderless, meaning that one and the same item of clothing could be worn by a man or a woman. These items are mostly outerwear, such as sheepskin coats or sleeveless jackets.

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[194] We have established by now, that traditional culture is at the core of the three museums collections and exhibiting practices.

[195] Repercussions of these associations are as follows. Clothes, for example, are attributed a certain gender based on their user. However, we can also relate clothes with female gender through their association with the traditionally female activities: clothes were made by women and clothes were taken care b y women.

[196] A certain number of artefacts in the catalogues of the three museums does already contain attributes "men's", "women's" or "boy's" and "girl's." However, these cases comprise no more than 4%, 11% and 29% of the total number of artefacts in collections of UCAMA, UCWL's museum and UMC-AB respectively.

[197] This group will include underwear, outerwear, headpieces, footwear and belts but not jewellery, ribbons or bags/purses.

The division into the three groups presented on the charts below is tentative and has been developed by the author. In addition to attributes "women's"/"girl's" and "men's"/"boy's", already existent (though, used inconsistently)[198] in the catalogues, artefacts' description, provenance and native name were examined for clues since very often they may be indicative of gender. Besides the above cited example with the difference between men's and women's shirts, the following examples are quite typical: a) a coat that has a history of being used on stage "to typify a Cossack's *zhupan*" can be unmistakably called men's; b) such native names as "*kersetka*" or "*yupka*" were used in Ukrainian to distinguish between two varieties of women's jacket. The group "clothes of unidentified gender" was formed by cases, where either a) catalogue description was insufficient to identify gender (this especially concerns shirts and some vests/sleeveless jackets); b) expertise is needed for differentiating between items of either gender since the differences are subtle (the case of sashes); c) items are "genderless", that is could be traditionally worn by persons of either sex (sheepskin coats and some jackets).

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[198] For inconsistent use of gender attributes in the catalogues, compare the following examples:
Example 1. Such terms as "women's skirt" and "men's pants" are used frequently along the terms "skirt" and "pants" in all the catalogues under study despite the fact that there are no such terms as "men's skirt" or "women's pants" as far as traditional Ukrainian attire is concerned. Names of folk clothes such as skirt, pants, necktie, etc. already have gender information encoded in them. Thus, being used in original context and/or by bearers of insider knowledge, these terms do not require attributes "men's" or "women's". However, in a context of cultural change, the frames of reference expand causing these terms to be open to interpretation. It is the awareness of existence of "women's pants" and "men's skirt" in the larger context that prompt coinage of the gender-specific terms in the Ukrainian museums' catalogues.
Example 2. On the contrary, such items as shirts or vests/sleeveless jackets depend on their description to be identified as either men's or women's. Gender attributes "men's" or "women's" need to be used here for a more comprehensive definition of an artefact.

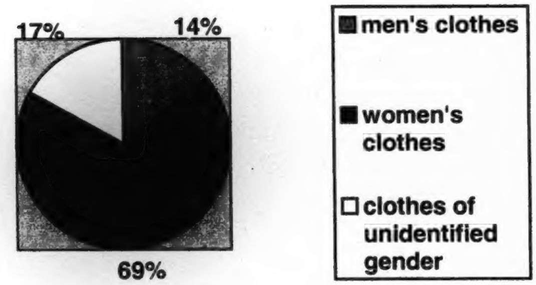

Figure 45. UMC-AB: distribution of category "clothes" according to gender.

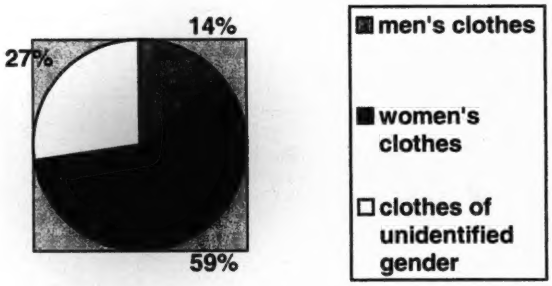

Figure 46. UCWL's museum: distribution of category "clothes" according to gender.

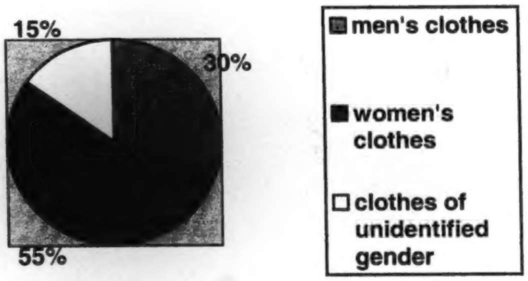

Figure 47. UCAMA: distribution of category "clothes" according to gender.

The charts above clearly demonstrate a tendency for the dominance of women's clothes that is common for all three museums. Even though a certain number of artefacts could not be identified in relation to gender, women's clothes dominate by an absolute majority comprising more than 50% of all clothes in each of the museums.

The charts below demonstrate that women's clothes not only dominate in number, but also show more variety.

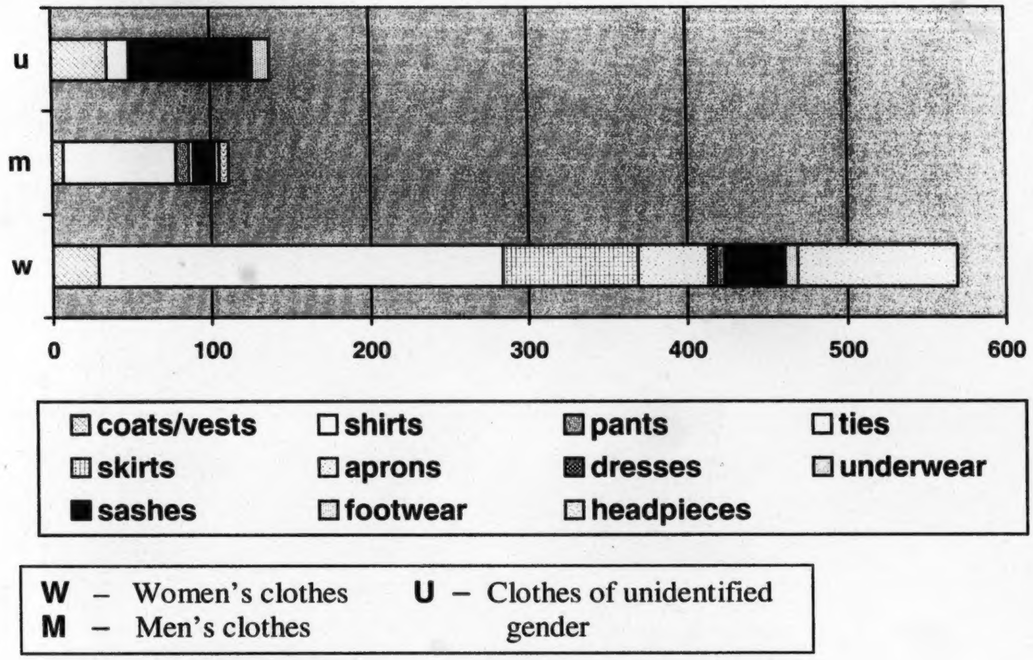

Figure 48. UMC-AB: distribution of types of clothes according to gender.

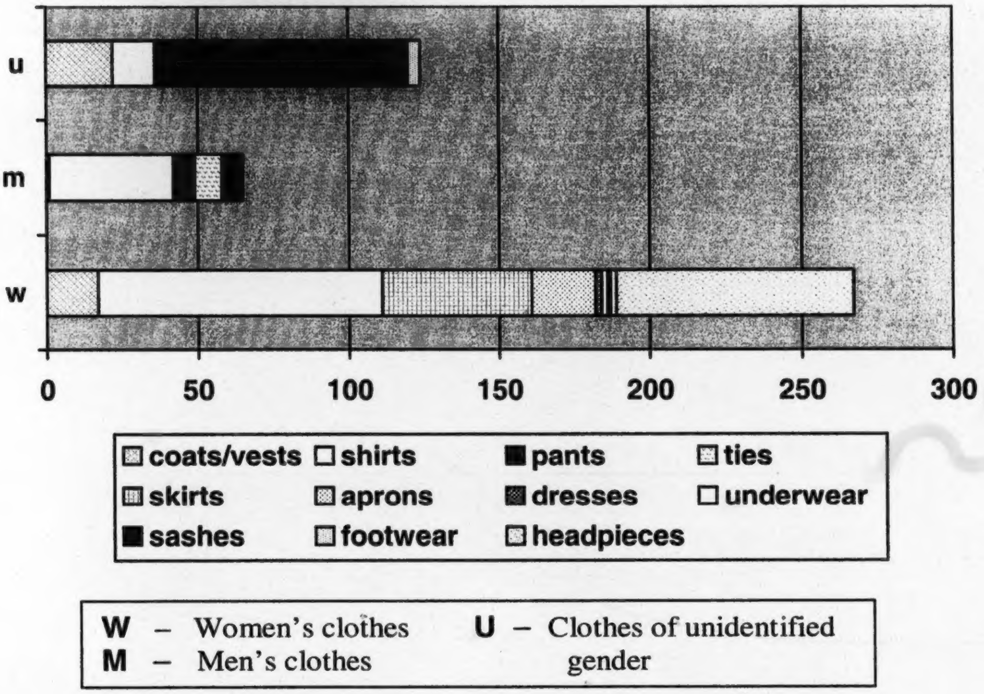

Figure 49. UCWL's museum: distribution of types of clothes according to gender.

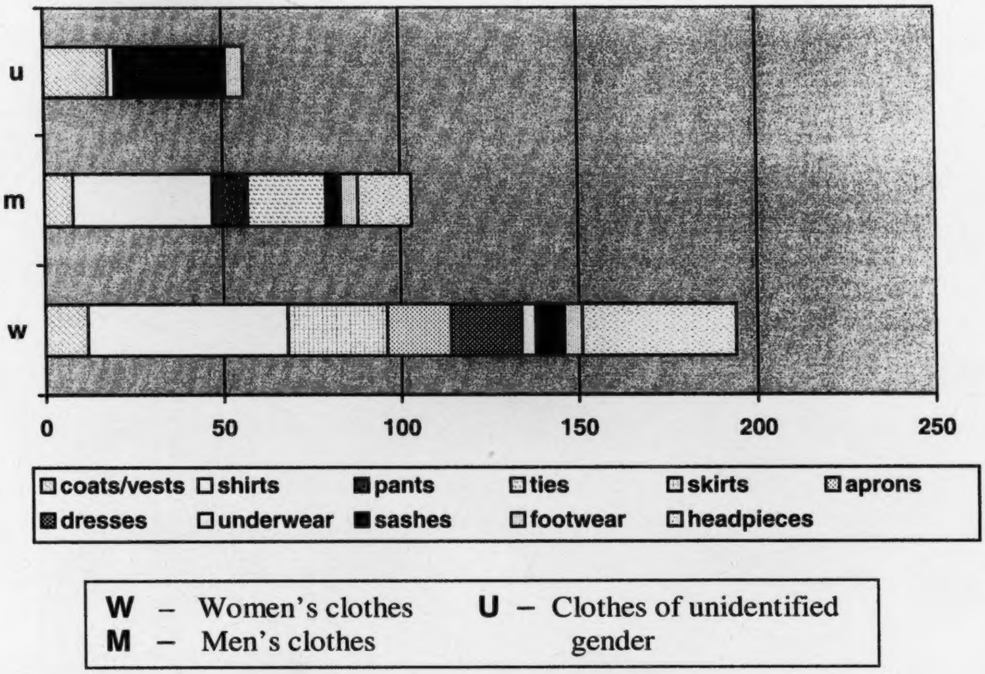

Figure 50. UCAMA: distribution of types of clothes according to gender.

While men's clothes in each of the collections, besides outerwear, shirts, sashes, footwear and headpieces, comprise only of pants and ties, women's clothes encompass a much wider range of items. In addition to shirts, sashes, outerwear, footwear and headpieces, women's clothes include different kinds of skirts, aprons, dresses and underwear. Women's outerwear also exhibits variety.

In addition, clothes can be regarded as linked to a certain gender by association with their maker. In traditional Ukrainian culture, all clothes are a product of women's work, with a few exceptions such as clothing items made of leather. Furthermore, upkeep of clothes is almost exclusively women's responsibility in a traditional household. Taking this into account, clothes as a group can be regarded as female gender marked. Similarly, other groups of artefacts can be identified as marked by this or that gender.

Folk arts and crafts is the second largest category after clothes in the three museums. This category comprises weaving and embroidery, woodwork, ceramics, *pysanky*, beadwork and costumed dolls. These folk arts and crafts are generally known to have traditionally had gender connotation to them. Though gender issues have not been in the focus of attention of Ukrainian ethnography scholarship, several sources do contain indications regarding the predominant gender of those involved in this or that craft. For instance, in *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia,* a potter is referred to as "he" and a *pysanky* writer is referred to as "she."[199] Overall, in relation to gender, crafts followed the traditional division of work into men's and women's spheres. Women's activities were taking place in-house, oriented to home, and family. Men's activities were around house, outside on the field, and oriented at representation of family before civil and church authorities. Men's work was physically demanding, women's work was painstaking and time-consuming.[200] Hence, men's handicrafts and applied arts would comprise carpentry, cooperage, tanning, pottery making, metalwork, woodcarving, glasswork, bone ornamenting, music instruments production, etc. Women's folk art and crafts would include embroidery, weaving, wall painting, beadwork, *pysanky*-writing, paper cutouts and others. As Figures 9, 10 and 11 in Chapter 1 demonstrate, not all of the enumerated crafts are presented in the museums. Among arts and crafts present in the collections, embroidery and weaving, beadwork and *pysanky* can be identified as traditionally belonging to traditional women's sphere, and woodwork (including woodcarving and handmade wooden household tools and implements) and ceramics as belonging to traditional men's sphere. Consequently, the ratio of women's to men's crafts in the three museums is as follows: 28% to 9% in UMC-AB; 32% to 13% in UCWL's museum; 24% to 18% in UCAMA (see Figures 9, 10 and 11 in Chapter 1). That is, folk arts and crafts pertaining to traditional women's sphere dominate in each of the three museums.

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[199] Demian Horniatkevych, "Ceramics," and "Easter Eggs (Pysanky)," Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia, ed. Volodymyr Kubijovyc, vol. 1 (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1963) 409, 415.

[200] Roman Chmelyk, "*Sim'ia ta funktsii sim'i* [Family and its functions]," *Ukrainske narodoznavstvo*, ed. S. P. Pavliuk et al. (Lviv: Feniks, 1994) 217-20.

On the other hand, the perspective of traditional culture *per se* does not reflect to the full the actual gender distribution in the collection because already by the time the collections were being started there occurred a shift in the traditional spheres of men vs. women involvement. The shift was due the change in the mode of life and transition from sub-sustenance economy of a peasant household to a specialized farm or ranch economy or to urban living.[201] Traditional crafts and folk art forms were waning for they did not satisfy the demands of new life. Material culture can be defined as a culture of daily existence,[202] and as traditional crafts products stop serving original practical purposes (which are considered to be their primary function), they cease being practiced. However, with the growth of understanding that it is these vestiges of traditional culture transplanted into the new soil that help reaffirm the group's status in an adopted society, remnants of traditional culture acquired a new meaning of being material witnesses of rich, ancient and artistically advanced heritage.

This kind of understanding was put into practice by Ukrainian women's movement in Canada as early as in the 1920s. Unlike their Anglo-Saxon feminist contemporaries, Ukrainian women did not fight for their equality with men. They had to battle “the triple prejudices against the Ukrainian-Canadian women based on their gender, class, and ethnicity.” [203] Their challenge was affirming the equal place of their ethnic group through achieving acceptance of its culture by the dominant society. The goals were to be reached through (1) self-improvement and education/enlightenment, (2) bringing up children as active Canadian citizens who are fully aware of their heritage, (3) proving that ethnic heritage could be a source of pride and that women could “play their part in attempting to insure that their ethnic group gain a respected place in Canadian society.”[204] This kind of feminism is sometimes identified as “ethnocultural feminism.”[205] The combination of their goals and aspirations with home economics background that many of the activists had, resulted naturally in quick proliferation of handicraft courses, first, among women-members of the women’s organizations, and next, among their children. During the first decades of this movement handicraft courses were almost exclusively limited to embroidery and *pysanky*-writing, to a great degree catalyzed by growing appreciation of general public.

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[201] John-Paul Himka, "Cultural Life in the Awakening Village in Western Ukraine," *Visible Symbols: Cultural Expression Among Canada's Ukrainians*, ed. Manoly Lupul (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, U of Alberta, 1984) 10-23; Radomir Bilash, "Ukrainian Rural Communities in East Central Alberta Before 1930," *Visible Symbols: Cultural Expression Among Canada's Ukrainians*, ed. Manoly Lupul (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, U of Alberta, 1984) 60-76.

[202] Radoslav Zuk, "Endurance, Disappearance and Adaptation: Ukrainian Material Culture in Canada," Visible Symbols: Cultural Expression Among Canada's Ukrainians, ed. Manoly R. Lupul (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, U of Alberta, 1984) 3.

With strengthening of the women’s movement, which coincided with creation of the museums and introduction of “new blood” into the women’s force due to the post-WWII immigration of DP women, both the range of the crafts taught and the student audience enjoyed more variety. Ukrainian boys and girls alike learned the basic skills of embroidery, weaving, *pysanky*-writing, and, occasionally, other crafts. Women successfully entered male-dominated spheres such as ceramics. A renowned artist Olga

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[203] Natalie Ostryzniuk, “Savella Stechishin, an Ethnocultural Feminist and Ukrainian Culture in Saskatchewan. Part III,” *Promin* [Hamilton, ON] Apr. 2000: 17-20.19.
[204] Ostryzniuk 19.
[205] Ostryzniuk 17-20.

Monastyrska was responsible for reviving the popularity of this folk art.[206] Alternatively, it was a man who reached the artistic heights of *pysanky*-writing, formerly a female sphere: Edmonton's own Chester Kuc, who is also renowned for his intricate embroidery. Meanwhile, traditional clothes production, applied embroidery for decorative purposes, teaching *pysanky*-writing and weaving have remained an exclusive domain of women. Traditional men's crafts, however, became marginalized for a number of reasons. First, many of them required physical strength, which made them unfitting for younger students. Second, they required raw materials (like leather, wood, metal, etc.) as well as special facilities for processing them, which made them not convenient for classroom learning. Third, the two reasons above made them not easily reproducible in the urban environment. Fourth, they did not have immediate decorative application motivated by fashion trends as, for instance, embroidery or weaving.[207] To sum it up, Ukrainian women's movement in Canada brought about understanding that "Ukrainian handicraft [is] primarily a woman's activity."[208]

In view of the above, the overall distribution of gender looks even more in favour of female sphere dominance in the museum collection, with an average of about a half of artefacts belonging to the sphere of exclusive female influence, most of the remaining artefacts belonging to the mixed influence sphere, and very few objects in the sphere of exclusive male influence (Figures 41, 42, 43). The charts show that there is a certain association between the processes that were going on in Canada over the period of museum development and the presentation of men vs. women's crafts and spheres in the collections. The share of Canadian-made items in the collections is not significant enough to influence much the gender distribution, therefore it should be a different reason. It is probable, that the processes that were going on created a certain mind-set that favoured collecting certain categories of objects in affluence, while also collecting other objects from "marginalized" categories in order to have them symbolically present as a part of exhibiting rich and diverse culture.

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[206] UCAMA's collection can boast that one fifth of its ceramics collection is authored by one of her female students.
[207] These particular reasons and difficulties associated with them led to subsiding of interest to amateur producing ceramics in the Ukrainian community in Edmonton. Instead, Ukrainian souvenir "embroidered ceramics" became mass manufactured by a cottage industry in Canada.
[208] Ostryzniuk 19.

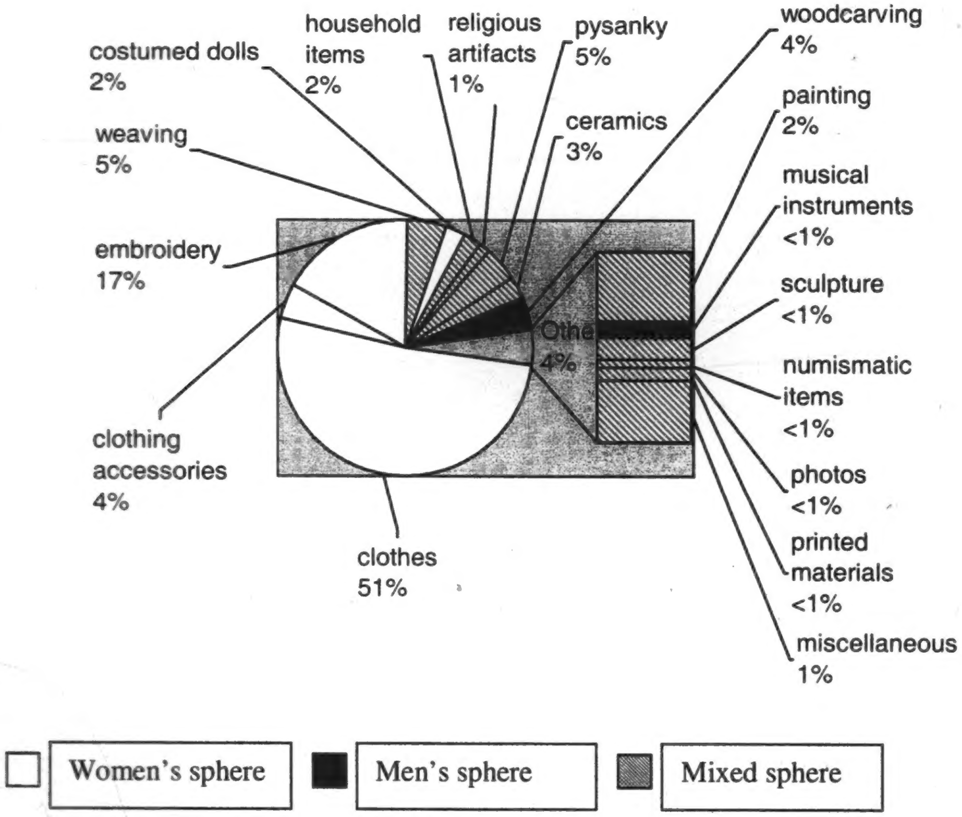

Figure 51. UMC-AB: gender distribution of artefacts.

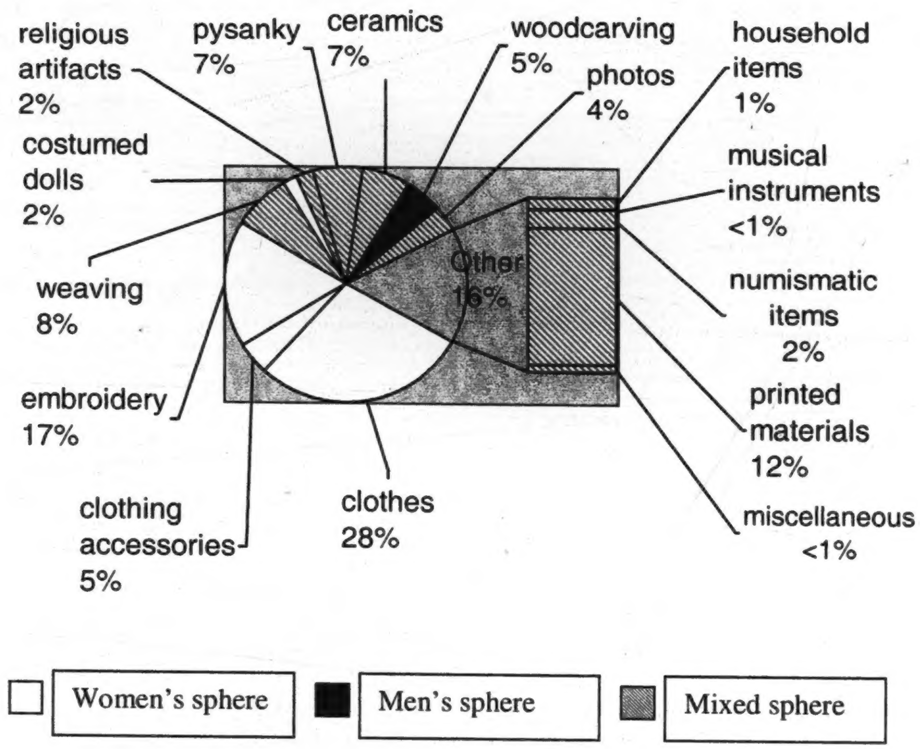

Figure 52. UCWL's museum: gender distribution of artefacts.

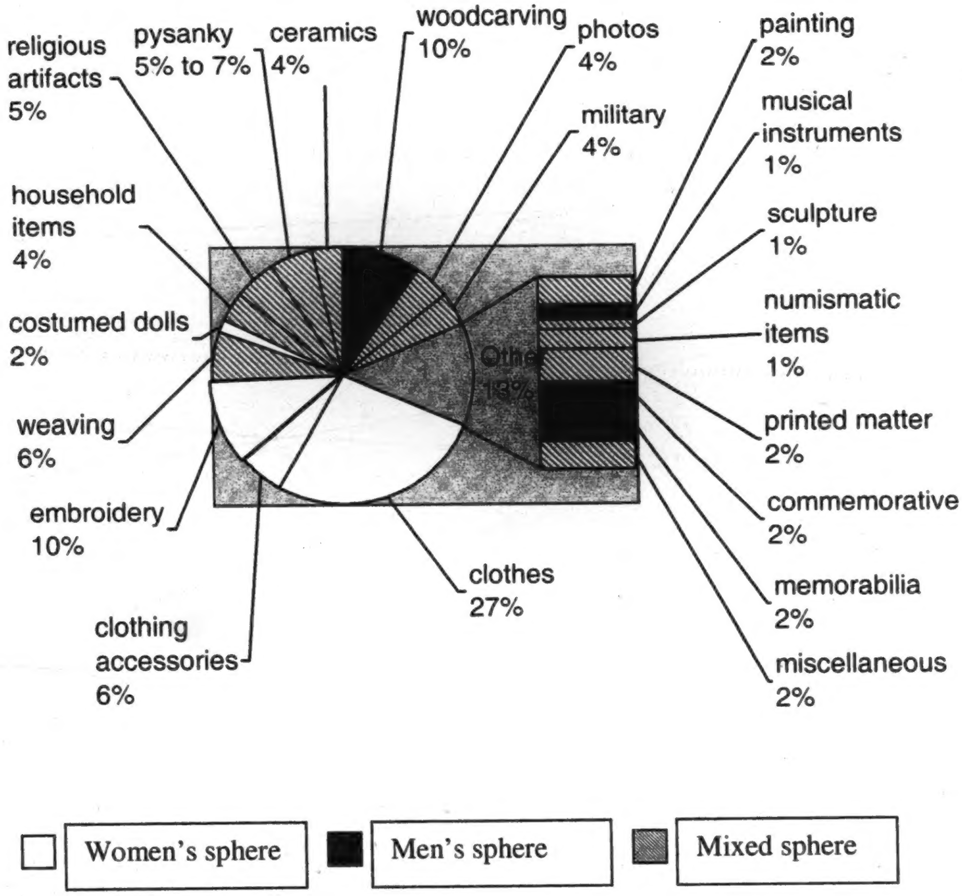

Figure 53. UCAMA: gender distribution of artefacts.

On a different level, museums as a sphere of activity can be considered as a gender-marked cultural expression. For the two women's organizations, UWAC and UCWL, museums appeared to be a natural consequence of the women's movement ideology. The key points of this ideology, in their turn, were compliant with the traditional role expected of Ukrainian women.

Of foremost importance was, according to one of the key proponents of Ukrainian Canadian "ethnocultural feminism" Savella Stechishin, the women's "enormous responsibility as guardians of the family."[209] This responsibility grew in importance in the new country since the Ukrainians could not rely on the state to bring their children up in the national spirit.[210] However, the traditional focus on the family became extended to encompass the whole of the Ukrainian people:

> Just as they were responsible for the well-being of their immediate biological families, Ukrainian-Canadian women were told, so they had a duty towards their larger family and blood tie, the Ukrainian nation. This equation of the nation with the family had two repercussions. On the one hand, it justified women's community involvement and obliged them to undertake such a role; on the other hand, it automatically directed their activity towards traditional female pursuits – children and education, the church, charity, and handicrafts.[211]

The two organizations (UWAC and UCWL) had very similar goals and objectives, both of them were nationalist and religious women's organizations. When UCWLC came into existence, it stated that the main goal and an ideal for a Ukrainian Catholic woman in Canada is to educate her children to be true to the teachings of the Ukrainian Catholic church, to be aware of their Ukrainian origin and to be proud of it, as well as to be loyal Canadian citizens.[212] The nationalist sentiment was also heated by the perceived "communist threat to the world." In view of it, it was stressed that "the rebirth of the world must be started in family. Women can help it even more than is thought."[213]

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[209] Ostryzniuk 19.
[210] Kohuska *Twenty-Five Years* 42.
[211] Swyripa 149.
[212] UCWLC's museum archives.
[213] UCWLC's museum archives.

These nationalist and "maternalist"[214] arguments that were used by Ukrainian ethnocultural feminists directed women to find new modern ways to fulfill their traditional function of insuring the continuity of her people. To be able to continue nurturing her culture, a Ukrainian Canadian woman had to insure a place for safekeeping material witnesses of her collective identity. Baba's trunks gave away their treasures to be deposited in the museums. Now, it was the museums that were to take care of their heritage, and it was only natural that it was women who were to take care of the museums. Besides the function of preservation, the museums were supposed to become centres for "nurturing Ukrainian people's art" – for educating women to prepare them for the role of such a homemaker who will keep the "Ukrainian spirit" in her home[215] and thus will insure the continuity of her people.

If the two museums run by the women's organizations are the extrapolation of women's traditional role, is UCAMA an extrapolation of men's traditional role? In the course of the analysis in this chapter we saw that all the three museums display similar tendencies with regards to gender distribution in their collections, that is an imbalance towards the dominance of women's representation. However, UCAMA was in all cases demonstrating the least degree of this kind of imbalance.

Thus, UCAMA's permanent exhibit contains a significantly larger percentage of male mannequins, while in the two "women's" museums male mannequins have a symbolic presence of one male adult and one male child.[216] Besides, female figures in UCAMA differ from the female figures in the two "women's museums. Alongside the anonymous figures of Ukrainian peasant women (which constitute half of the female figures in UCAMA and 99% in UMC-AB, and 100% in UCWL's museum), UCAMA presents women-political figures. They are women-personalities who are exhibited to remind of historic achievements of the Ukrainian people, while peasant women symbolically represent collective cultural achievements of the Ukrainian people. A figure of a Canadian army servicewoman in UCAMA has a symbolism of a different kind. It stands for at least two important changes in the socially constructed role for Ukrainian women. First, it is their involvement in the formerly exclusively male spheres, in this case, military service. Second, it is that their active participation is not any more confined to the life of their immediate families or ethnic communities - they are full-fledged citizens of their adopted country. UCAMA's permanent exhibit also contains portraits of prominent Ukrainian writers, poets, composers and artists, most of whom were men.

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[214] Ostryzniuk 20.

[215] Kohuska, *Twenty-Five Years* 39.

[216] The ratio of male mannequins to female mannequins is 2 to 13, 2 to 9, and 10 to 26 in UMC-AB, UCWL, and UCAMA respectively.

Figure 54. UCAMA: figure of a Canadian army servicewoman.

With regards to UCAMA's distribution of gender in the collections, it is also noteworthy that there is a smaller share of exclusively women's crafts and a larger share of exclusively men's crafts, such as woodwork, which comprises 10% of the collection, while in UMC-AB and UCWLC's museum it is 4% and 5% respectively. Incidentally, woodwork is not entirely devoid of a political statement either: DP's brought to Canada a large number of woodwork masterfully carved and/or inlaid as a part of the nationalist spirit expression in the Displaced Persons camps in Germany, Austria, Great Britain and

Italy. UCAMA's collection also differs from the "women's" museums by its content of memorabilia of prominent Ukrainians in Canada (most of whom are men), which celebrates the achievements of outstanding individuals in the public and political spheres.

To sum it up, UCAMA, in its collections and permanent exhibit demonstrates a mixture of female and male spheres of influence. On the one hand, formally it displays a slight imbalance towards a more visible representation of women's sphere. On the other hand, the message that the artefacts carry has a strong emphasis on the political and public role of an individual, which is associated with men's sphere in Ukrainian tradition.

In conclusion, it is possible to delineate a formula used by the three Ukrainian museums in relation to the gender of the exhibited artefacts. It seems that it has become expected of a Ukrainian museum to have a stock of certain objects: a variety of costumed mannequins presenting the full beauty of traditional peasant women's attire, a symbolic presence of a mannequin in traditional men's attire, a symbolic presence of children of both sexes dressed in Ukrainian clothes; a variety of traditional women's crafts or, if the scale of museum display does not allow, only embroidery and *pysanky*, often supplemented by costumed dolls; woodwork and ceramics. Many of these characteristic features were caused and are further promoted by a widespread assumption of associating Ukrainian handicraft with Ukrainian women.

Conclusions

Three Ukrainian museums in Edmonton have developed within the local Ukrainian community and articulated the community's concern with preservation and promotion of its "national" (ethnic) heritage. In the course of their operation the museums developed their own interpretation of Ukrainian heritage manifested in the structure of the collections, organization of display, cataloguing and labelling principles, and variety of complementing public activities.

The collections developed as a result of initial accumulation of artefacts, subsequent donations and target acquisitions. The original tasks were the popularization of Ukrainian culture to both Ukrainian Canadians and the general public with strong emphasis on aesthetic appeal of traditional crafts; the preservation of rapidly disappearing traditional objects. The resulting collections comprise a variety of artefacts with prominence of traditional arts and crafts. The principles of display and character of permanent exhibits were determined by limitations of space and the urge to represent the culture in a wide variety of forms. These factors resulted in creation of multi-functional display areas, which serve as a frame of reference for oral interpretation.

The present-day museums are reflections of the visions of their founders as well as the adaptations introduced in response to the demands of the changing environment. The museum collections, permanent displays and exhibits, courses and other activities demonstrate that the museums were founded to preserve roots, or "truth" about the past of Ukrainians, to show their distinctiveness as a group in Canada, to promote this heritage. The museum workers reconstructed their systems of cultural meanings to fit the changing contexts of their own lives. Since cultural meanings can be understood in multiple ways and heritage never remains unchangeable, some aspects of their cultural traditions and culture in general have gained more significance while others have become less prominent.

Each museum imposes its own hierarchy of meanings, and thus each object undergoes a change in its function and significance once it enters the museum context. Museums establish their systems of priorities, which result in particular choices affecting what is collected, exhibited, in general, what is passed on to the next generations. As a result, some features of the collections gain prominence and become distinguishing features by which the material collected and exhibited is identified and recognized.

While the museums collect and exhibit, they develop certain "formulas," constituent elements of the "image" that makes a museum of this particular ethnic community recognizable. These persistent formulas generate an expectation in the audiences as to what constitutes the particular "heritage." This expectation further influences these and other museums to continue the trends they set. The demonstrated formulas create a momentum from which it takes energy to deviate, regardless of the specific goals and focuses of any new museum initiative.

By selecting the aspects of their culture to be preserved and passed on, the museums "shaped" the heritage they were representing, because to select an object as a museum object, or to "museumize" it implies to approve it as heritage:[217]

> [...] animal rightists damned a proposed museum of British hunting as glorifying "part of our heritage we ought to eradicate altogether from our minds." They did

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[217] Lowenthal *Heritage Crusade* 160.

not mean to delete hunting from history; its evils had to be chronicled. But to museumize hunting implied approving it as heritage.

The heritage of Ukrainians in Canada has its symbols, many of which are visible elements of material culture. Ukrainian museums in Canada played a major role in establishing these symbols and in their evolution as symbols. Lowenthal describes language as an aspect of heritage that unifies people by speech and makes them share legacies *opaque* to outsiders.[218] Ukrainian crafts became such successful symbols of Ukrainian identity in Canada, because they lent themselves well to being both a unifying agent for insiders and a representation of Ukrainians as a group for outsiders, being quite transparent to them.

Ukrainian heritage in Canada is defined by the museums in terms of space, time and spheres of influence. The museum value of an object was closely tied to its perceived age. Being "old" is a positive characteristic and an important component of the formula of authenticity as it was negotiated by Ukrainian cultural activists. Original artefacts were complemented with reproductions-substitutes, which referred to Ukraine's ancient history thus validating the idea of "ancient roots." These objects rarely refer to a specific historical context thus eliminating time boundaries and creating a timeless image of Ukrainian culture. Ukrainian heritage was also presented by the three museums as being representative of regional diversity of traditional culture in Ukraine as well as presenting the whole of a nation. The museums presented the heritage in the way that it was aesthetically appealing and recognizable as Ukrainian Canadian on a larger multicultural scene, which is best illustrated by the visible symbols such as *pysanky*, embroidery, folk clothing and cooking. The culture presented by the museums also reflected changing gender roles, and specifically the role of women within the Ukrainian community.

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[218] Lowenthal *Heritage Crusade* 68.

The museums have become "custodians" of Ukrainian heritage in Canada: they promoted its truthfulness and multiplicity, nurtured its deep-rooted tradition, and made it visible to be proud of it when the world sees its beauty.

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APPENDIX

Table 3. Lists of data fields in the catalogues of the three collections.

UMC Acquisition Sheet Fields	UCWL's Museum Card Catalogue Registration Sheet Fields	UCAMA Database Fields
Donation Date Date Received by Museum Name of Donor Address [of Donor] Telephone Number [of Donor] Collector's Name Address [of Collector] Telephone Number [of Collector] Name of Specimen Native Name of Object Mode of Acquisition (purchased, donated, loan) Price Length (cm) Width (cm) Height (cm) Weight Description: ▪ Full or fragment ▪ Materials ▪ Materials' native name ▪ Colors ▪ Manufacture (homemade, bought material, etc.) ▪ Motif type (geometric, floral, etc.) ▪ Type of embroidery stitch (cross-stitch, *hlad*, *nyz*, etc.) ▪ Location of Motifs or Embroidery Design ▪ Usage ▪ Condition ▪ Restrictions (usage; in-house only, study piece, etc.) Origin: ▪ Country ▪ Province ▪ Village Maker's Name Were Made [Place of Manufacture] Date Made Original Owner Address Associated Objects History Accession Number Classification Area Photonegative number Location [in the Museum]	Item [Name] Registration Number Date [of Manufacture] Region [of Origin] Measurement Donated [Name of Donor] Information [Description and History of the Object] Remarks [Associated Objects, Location in the Museum, Degree of Preservation, etc.] [Signature of the] Chairman of UCWL Museum Committee Cataloguing	Accession Number Name Description Maker Previous Owner Donor Date of Creation Accession date Village of Creation Town of Creation County of Creation Region of Creation Country of Creation History Condition Material Color Weight Size Legal Status Location in Museum

Table 4. Defining the museums.[219]

		UMC-AB	UCWL's museum	UCAMA
The prime function		Museum	Museum	Museum
The priority with which other functions are viewed		Art museum Archive	-	Archive Other
The type of collection in the museum is concerned with the topic of ___:				
E	Human history	20%		90%
F	Natural history			
G	Science and technology			
H	Other	80%	100%	10%

Table 5. Acquisitions policies.[220]

Collections	**UMC-AB**	**UCWL's museum**	**UCAMA**
Are the collections adequate to fulfill the stated objectives and **purposes** of the museums in the following aspects: **quantity**, **quality**, **condition**, **relevance**?	Yes	Yes	Yes
If you now have written acquisitions/collections **policies**, have your subsequent acquisitions consistently conformed to these? Are there exceptions to these policies?	Yes No	Yes Yes	No N/a
Storage facilities adequate in:			
K – size	no	no	no
L – quality	no	yes	no
M – access to	no	yes	yes
N – security	no	yes	no

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[219] The table is based on "Alberta Museums and Related Institutions Data-Base" comp. by Museum Services, Edmonton: Alberta Culture, Historical Resources, 1986.

[220] The table is based on "Alberta Museums and Related Institutions Data-Base" comp. by Museum Services, Edmonton: Alberta Culture, Historical Resources, 1986.

Table 6. Adherence to standard museum registration and record system.[221]

		UMC-AB	UCWL's museum	UCAMA
O	Record system adequate (acquisitions)	+	+	+
P	% of collection catalogued	50% (now 95%)	50% (now 95%)	99%
Q	Use standard recording system	+	+	+
R	System permits easy retrieval	+	+	+
S	On computer[222]	- (now yes)	- (now yes)	-
T	Location records kept	+	+	+
U	Kept in a secure place	+	-	+
V	Duplicates kept in another building	-	-	-
W	Adequate to describe missing items	-	+	+
X	% of collection photographed	0%	0% (now 90%)	90%

Table 7. Hierarchy of roles/functions according to their importance to the museums.[223]

	UMC-AB	UCWL's museum	UCAMA
1	Collecting and collections management for **posterity** (C)	Collecting and collections management for **posterity** (C)	Community **pride** or sense of history (E)
2	Access to information/artifacts for **research** purposes (B)	Historic **authenticity** – preservation (F)	Historic **authenticity** – preservation (F)
3	**Education** (A)	Access to information/artifacts for **research** purposes (B)	Collecting and collections management for **posterity** (C)
4	Historic **authenticity** – preservation (F)	**Education** (A)	Access to information/artifacts for **research** purposes (B)
5	Community **pride** or sense of history (E)	**Economic** advantage to community (i.e. tourism) (G)	**Education** (A)
6	Temporary or traveling **exhibitions** (H)	Community **pride** or sense of history (E)	**Economic** advantage to community (i.e. tourism) (G)
7	**Economic** advantage to community (i.e. tourism) (G)	-	-
8	**Recreation** – entertainment (D)	-	-

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[221] The table is based on "Alberta Museums and Related Institutions Data-Base" comp. by Museum Services, Edmonton: Alberta Culture, Historical Resources, 1986.

[222] Only 8.45% of all museums surveyed in Alberta had their catalogues computerized. "Alberta Museums and Related Institutions Data-Base" comp. by Museum Services, Edmonton: Alberta Culture, Historical Resources, 1986.

[223] The table is based on "Alberta Museums and Related Institutions Data-Base" comp. by Museum Services, Edmonton: Alberta Culture, Historical Resources, 1986.

Table 8. Publicity forms used by the museums.[224]

		UMC-AB		UCWL's museum		UCAMA	
		1984	2003	1984	2003	1984	2003
A	Newspapers	+	?	+	?	-	?
B	Radio-TV	-	?	-	?	-	?
C	Public presentations	-	?	+	?	-	?
D	Tourist zone literature	+	?	+	+	-	?
E	Museum brochures	-	+	-	+	-	?
F	Posters	-	?	-	?	-	?
G	Postcards or haste-notes	+	?	+	?	-	?
H	Newsletters	-	?	-	?	-	?
J	Signs on main approach roads to community	-	-	-	-	-	-
K	Signs above with operating times listed	-	-	-	-	-	-
L	Signs directional – within the community	-	-	-	-	-	-
M	Signs at entrance with operating times listed	-	-	-	+	+	+
	Publications	yes	?	yes	?	yes	+

Table 9. Summaries of the museums.

1	Official name	Ukrainian Museum of Canada, Alberta Branch	UCWL's Edmonton Eparchy Museum	UCAMA
2	Affiliation	Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada	Ukrainian Catholic Women's League, Edmonton Eparchy	-
3	Opened	1944	1952	1974
4	Member of Alberta Museums Association	+	+	+
5	Maintains subsidiary institutions	1 (Calgary museum)	1 (Calgary museum)	0

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[224] The table is partly based on "Alberta Museums and Related Institutions Data-Base" comp. by Museum Services, Edmonton: Alberta Culture, Historical Resources, 1986.